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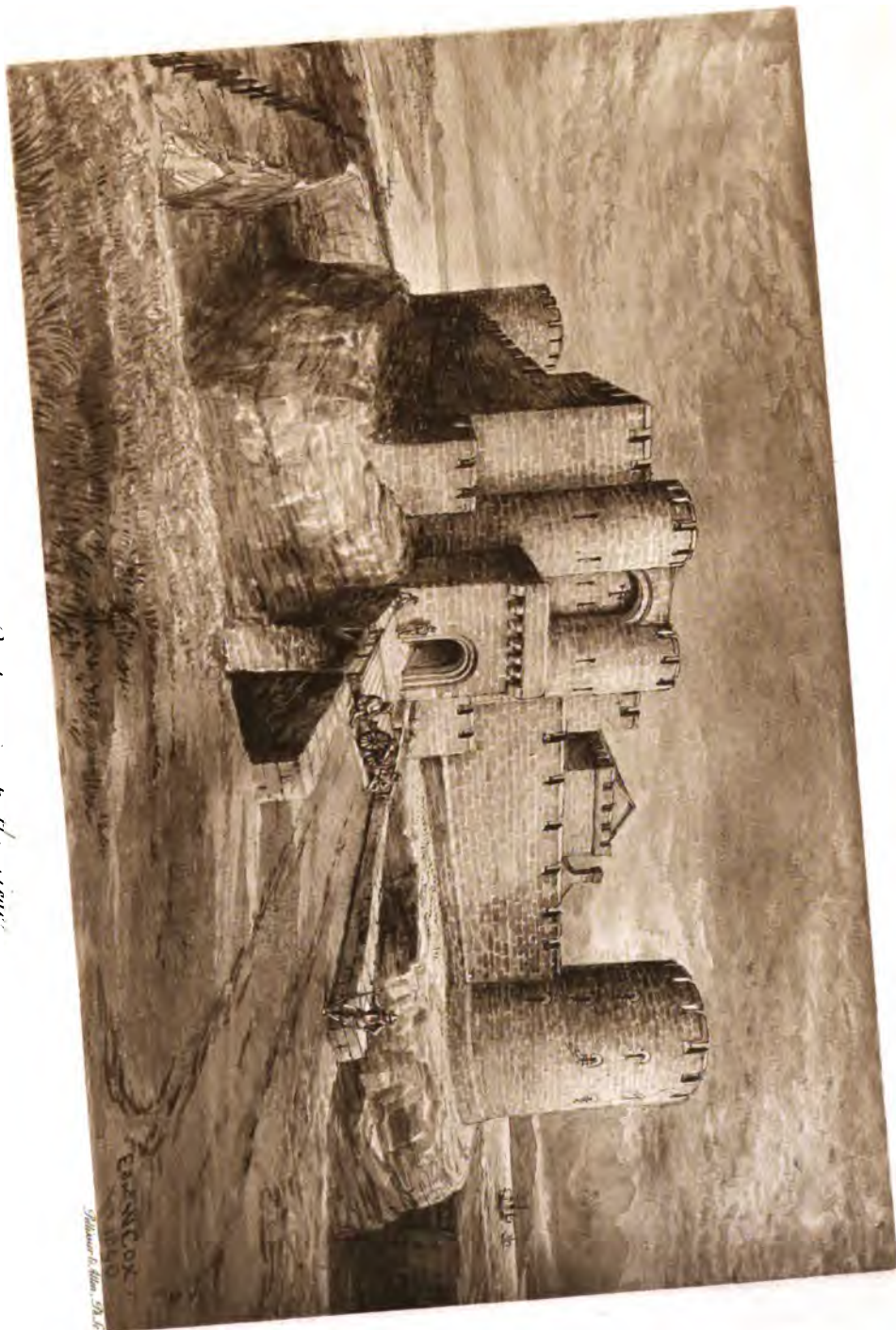
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LIVERPOOL
IN
KING CHARLES THE SECOND'S TIME

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Frederick Castle, prior to the siege.



Harpend Castle, prior to the siege.



LIVERPOOL

IN

KING CHARLES THE SECOND'S TIME

BY

SIR EDWARD MOORE, BART.
OF BANK HALL, LIVERPOOL

Written in the Year 1667-8

EDITED BY

WILLIAM FERGUSSON IRVINE

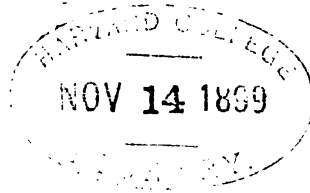
WITH A PREFACE, HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, AND NOTES

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES AND MAPS

LIVERPOOL
HENRY YOUNG & SONS

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PREFACE

THE survey of his property in Liverpool, prepared by Edward Moore of Bank Hall for the guidance of William, his son and heir, and drawn up in 1668, has long been known to historians. It formed one of the early volumes of the Chetham Society's publications, and was edited in 1847 by the late Mr. Thomas Heywood. The original manuscript at that time, and for some years after, was in the possession of Mr. Thomas Moore of Seacombe, who claimed descent from the Moores of Bank Hall. At his death in 1879 it was bought by Mr. Henry Young of Liverpool, who decided to publish it, so that its valuable and quaint description of the town, as it was in the reign of Charles the Second, might be accessible to the general reader. For this purpose the late Sir James Picton was asked to prepare it for the press, and he actually began the work, which was however not completed, and at his death the matter was allowed to rest until the present editor undertook the task.

Thus, though the manuscript is not printed for the first time, it has never before been published, its issue to members of the Chetham Society not constituting publication. Further, being printed for the members of the Chetham Society, a very limited number of copies was issued, so that the work is rare and practically only known to experts. Again, in Mr.

Heywood's edition a considerable number of rather serious errors occur in the transcript from the original manuscript, and since 1847 (the date of Heywood's edition), large stores of documents bearing on the subject of the early history of Liverpool have been brought to light, so that it is now possible to annotate the text in a way that could not be done before.

The document is here presented to the reader exactly as it is in the original, with the exception that the spelling has been modernised, and in one or two instances the phraseology adjusted to render it intelligible. The names of persons and streets, however, are printed as Moore wrote them.

The plan of the town has been compiled with the greatest care, and is based on surveys in the possession of the Corporation of Liverpool, amplified by hints gathered from the perusal of several thousand early documents relating to the town from among the Moore, Crosse and Corporation muniments and the manuscripts at the British Museum. No pains have been spared to render it thoroughly trustworthy, and the Editor believes that it will be found so in the main; but at the same time it must be added that references to the position of land in the documents mentioned above are often so vague, and the surveys existing, in some instances, so conflicting, that it has been impossible to entirely clear up all difficulties.

In according thanks to the many friends who have helped so cordially and so freely in this work, it is with deep regret that the Editor has to begin by referring to the death of Mr.

Thomas Naylor Morton. It is no exaggeration to speak of him as the historian of Liverpool. Without his ceaseless industry and profound learning, we should have but a small part of that information which we now possess on the subject of the early history of our town. Mr. Morton worked with all the ardour of an enthusiast and the discrimination of a scholar, looking for no reward, while others reaped the harvest of his learning and profited by his quiet self-effacement. His name is probably known to very few outside the circle of his own personal friends, but every one who has studied in the smallest measure the history of Liverpool, must perforce have come in contact with and profited by his labours, though they found them disguised under a more pretentious name. The Editor can only very inadequately express his indebtedness to the late Mr. Morton for his constant help and kindly sympathetic advice, unstintingly given with the modesty and generosity which mark the scholar and the gentleman.

To the Estate Committee of the Corporation, for permission to examine the early surveys of the town, and to Mr. Turton, the assistant Borough Surveyor, for his kind and discriminating assistance, the Editor's warmest thanks are due, as well as to the many writers on the subject of Liverpool whose papers are scattered throughout the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire; to Captain Stewart of Alltyrolyn, Llandyssil, the present possessor of the Moore family documents, for the prompt and gracious way in which he gave access to his muniments and accorded permission to reproduce the coats of arms used by Edward

Moore ; to Dr. Herbert Peck of Chesterfield for the interesting notes he supplied on the subject of early Liverpool tokens ; to Mr. Richard Bennett for the loan of rare maps and plans from his collection ; and, finally, to Mr. J. Paul Rylands for valuable advice on many matters of detail.

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INTRODUCTION

- I. *The Moore Family and its connection with Liverpool.* II. *Colonel John Moore, the Regicide.* III. *Sketch of the Life of Sir Edward Moore.* IV. *A Description of the Document: its Scope and Purpose.* V. *Sir Cleave Moore and the Dispersal of the Property.* VI. *The Town as shown by Moore: Revival at the Restoration, and Expansion of Trade.* VII. *A Survey of the Town as it was in 1668.* VIII. *Explanation of Terms used in the Document; the Leases, Rents in Kind, Mills, Day-services.* IX. *Estimate of Moore's Revenues.*

I

As far back as the history of Liverpool reaches, with it is found associated the family of Moore. Other families who held property in Liverpool may have risen to more distinguished places in their time, or have earned wider fame, but the Moores of Liverpool can fairly lay claim to the honour of having been throughout five centuries the most important family of the town.

Who they were and whence they came is lost in the mist, but when Liverpool emerges into the pale dawn of her history and takes her place as a trading community with the Charter of King John in 1207, we find a Moore settled at Moore Hall, within three hundred yards of the spot that was one day to be the Liverpool Exchange.

Little is known of the family in the thirteenth century, the records for this period being scanty, but throughout the

fourteenth century the Moores seem to have practically ruled Liverpool. Again and again the name occurs in the lists of Mayors and Bailiffs, and scarcely a Liverpool document of this period exists without one of the family appearing either as a party or a witness. Sir Thomas de la More is said to have written the Life and Death of Edward II. and III., and to have been knighted in 1346; and it is related that in 1357 Sir William Moore was created a knight banneret by Edward the Black Prince for valour at the Battle of Poitiers.¹ Towards the close of the fourteenth century the Moores greatly increased their wealth and possessions, among the chief of these additions being that of the Manor of Kirkdale, which they purchased from the Irelands of Hale in the year 1396.

In the next century alliances with the Norris family of Speke, the Turtons of Eccleshill, the Irelands of the Hut, and the Fazakerleys of Fazakerley, must all have added to the prestige as well as to the wealth of the family, and though the development of the town, and therefore of their property, was slow during the next century, a marriage with a Molyneux of Sefton and a Scarisbrick of Scarisbrick, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, shows no signs of a declining fortune.

Edward Moore, the grandfather of the compiler of the Rental, married a Hockenhull of Prenton in Wirral, and occupied several important offices in the state during the early part of the seventeenth century. He was High Sheriff of

¹ With reference to these two knights Gregson and other writers have been followed, but it is only fair to add that no corroboration of this statement has been met with by the Editor in the course of his researches.

Lancashire in 1621, and member for the borough in 1625. He fell dead on the road while on a return journey from London, and lies buried at Stone, in Staffordshire. His sudden death is mentioned by William Blundell of Crosby, in his diary, "A Cavalier's Note-Book," as an example of a special judgment of Heaven on one of the persecutors of his faith.¹

II

Edward Moore was succeeded by his son John, afterwards Colonel John Moore, a remarkable man in a stirring time. As almost the only Protestant Justice in the south-west of Lancashire, he must have occupied a very isolated position among the surrounding gentry. He threw in his lot unreservedly with the Puritans, but he cannot be said to have been altogether a credit to his party. For a man to succeed with the Roundheads it was essential that he should adopt at least the appearance of a deep piety, and it was inevitable that under such circumstances many men should display more than was actually warranted by their mental attitude. Thus it was, perhaps, that Colonel Moore, while writing obsequious letters requesting the prayers of the Puritan ministers for the success of his expeditions, should at the same time have engaged in political and military intrigues which savoured more of the wiliness of the serpent than of the innocence of the dove. Adam Martindale, the well-known Puritan divine who was for a time private secretary to Colonel Moore, writes

¹ It is interesting to notice that this Edward Moore's grandfather, John, acted an important part in the preliminary trial of George Marsh, the martyr, in 1555.

that the Colonel "carried towards me prettie civilly, . . . but his family was such an hell upon earth as was utterly intollerable. There was such a packe of arrant thieves, and they so artificiall [skilful] at their trade, that it was scarce possible to save anything out of their hands except what I could carrie about with me, or lodge in some other house. Those that were not thieves (if there were any such) were generally (if not universally) desperately profane and bitter scoffers at pietie."¹

Colonel Moore represented Liverpool in the famous Long Parliament, which began its sittings in 1640, and shortly after the outbreak of the war he was appointed military Governor of Liverpool; and it was while occupying this position that he incurred the charge, probably quite groundless however, of deliberately allowing the town to fall into the hands of Prince Rupert and his Royalists. After this he was a good deal in Ireland, holding important military posts, though he was present in the House of Commons on the occasion of Colonel Pride's famous Purge. In 1649 he sat on the ever memorable tribunal that met for the "hearing, trying, and adjudging of Charles Stewart," and, if we care to make fanciful deductions from trifles, we may imagine that fear or remorse filled Moore's mind, since his signature to the death-warrant is so scrawled and illegible that doubt has been expressed as to its genuineness.² In the autumn of this year Moore crossed over to Ireland again, and in the follow-

¹ Chetham Soc. Trans., vol. iv. p. 36.

² His signature is the fourth in the sixth column, and immediately succeeds that of Colonel Jones. It was officially identified in 1662, though it is as unlike his usual signature as possible. The so-called facsimile of the death-warrant commonly sold in curiosity shops is misleading. In it the signature is made quite clear.

ing summer fell a victim to the plague at the siege of Tre-croghan, in Meath, leaving his affairs in utter confusion ; and though throughout the latter part of his life he had been on the winning side, and had filled high and lucrative offices, he died overwhelmed with debt, so that it needed years of careful husbanding and parsimonious frugality before his son could even in part restore the shattered fortunes of his house.

III

For the cause of the strangely soured character of Edward Moore, who succeeded his father in 1650, which is so fully exhibited in the survey, we must mainly look at his upbringing and early surroundings. As has been already said, his father was practically isolated from all social intercourse with his peers, in his position as the solitary Puritan Justice of the Peace for the Hundred of West Derby, and it must have been a bitter schooling to have been brought up in the house of an Ishmael and reared in the midst of the savagest controversy.

Edward Moore was born in 1634, a year in which England heard the first distant murmurings of the coming storm, in the imposition by Charles of the famous Ship-Money tax, and John Moore, with all his interest at stake in the seaport town of Liverpool, no doubt felt bitterly on the subject, and strove with all his power to thwart the obnoxious impost ;¹ and these influences, thus early at work on the young life, became intensified in the long years of internecine strife

¹ John Moore was one of two members of the Town Council who opposed the levying of the tax in 1634. (Municipal Records, Picton, vol. i. p. 220.)

which followed. He was only a boy when, in Whitsuntide of 1644, Prince Rupert carried the old town by assault, and, as Moore himself tells us, "for many hours put all to the sword, giving no quarter." He may even have watched with terrified interest from the windows of the Old Hall, as in the quiet grey of the early morning the desperate fight surged past the gateway, and may have seen the well-known forms of his father's tenants go down before the victorious Royalists, as they swept all opposition before them, and rolled the battle down the High Street to the gates of the old castle itself.

There can have been no quiet home-life for the lad, nothing, so far as he could remember, from his earliest days but strife and bloodshed, alternating high hopes and deep despair; all around him at one moment burning the fires of fierce resentment, as defeat was the lot of his friends; and the next the still more destructive passion of revenge, when, with the turn of the tide, their foes retreated before them. His father can have spent but little time at the Hall; a few busy years of coming and going between Liverpool, London, and Dublin, and Colonel Moore, as has been said already, fell a victim to the terrible camp-fever, as he lay with his regiment before the walls of an Irish town. Burdened with debt he died, and young Edward Moore at fifteen years of age succeeded to an estate weighted with an encumbrance of £10,000 and a heritage of the bitter isolation of half a century. Can we be surprised that from such a childhood he should grow to maturity with a soured and warped nature, overbearing and arrogant towards inferiors, and suspicious and vindictive in the treatment of his equals?

Edward Moore began his active life very early, as we should judge it. Among the Moore papers¹ is the original commission from Oliver Cromwell appointing Edward Moore captain of a company of foot in his father's regiment, dated 25th June 1649, when he was only a boy of fourteen. There is also an interesting letter addressed to him by his father a year later, written from Trim in Ireland, asking for sundry provisions, and in it occurs the homely request, "if you can, get Great Sarah to make me two good pies, or one, and send me a frieinge pan—send me also my breeches which were drest, that hath points." Edward must have been in Ireland at this time, as he obtained leave from Cromwell in June 1650 to come over to England "to loke after his occations for 9 months if so longe his occations constrain him to stay."

In the face of this positive evidence it is rather unsettling to one's faith in Edward Moore's truthfulness to find him writing some years afterwards, when the whirligig of time had brought back the Stuarts, that he was but a boy of about twelve at his father's death, and had never since "accted in sivell or millitary imployment for the late Ussurpers."

Of the years that immediately followed Colonel Moore's death we know but little. One or two letters remain, written by Edward Moore from Gray's Inn in London, where he may have been studying, but it is more probable that he was

¹ "The Moore papers," so often alluded to, are the family documents of the Moores of Bank Hall now in the possession of Captain Stewart of Alltyrodyn, South Wales. They comprise an immense collection, dating from the twelfth century. A large number were carefully transcribed by the late Mr. Morton for the Corporation of Liverpool a few years ago.

personally pressing some of his numerous petitions on the Protector to refund at least part of the large sums which he states his late father expended in the service of the Commonwealth.

If the encumbrances on an estate were great, there was always one way of retrieving the family fortune, and that lay through the gate of matrimony. Edward Moore turned to this resource when he was barely twenty, and laid his hand and heart at the disposal of his "cozen" Jane Brabazon, a daughter of the Earl of Meath, an offer the quiet but firm refusal of which still lies among Captain Stewart's papers. Nothing daunted, he next turned his eyes nearer home, and within a year's time had patched up the shattered remnants of a heart, and succeeded in winning the affections of a lady who proved to be to him in every way a most admirable helpmeet, Dorothy Fenwick, daughter of that stout old cavalier, Sir William Fenwick of Meldon, co. Northumberland.

They seem to have been married in 1656,¹ when Edward was about twenty-one, as a letter still remains from the Countess of Meath of this date wishing him all joy in his marriage, and saying that she is sending with the letter an

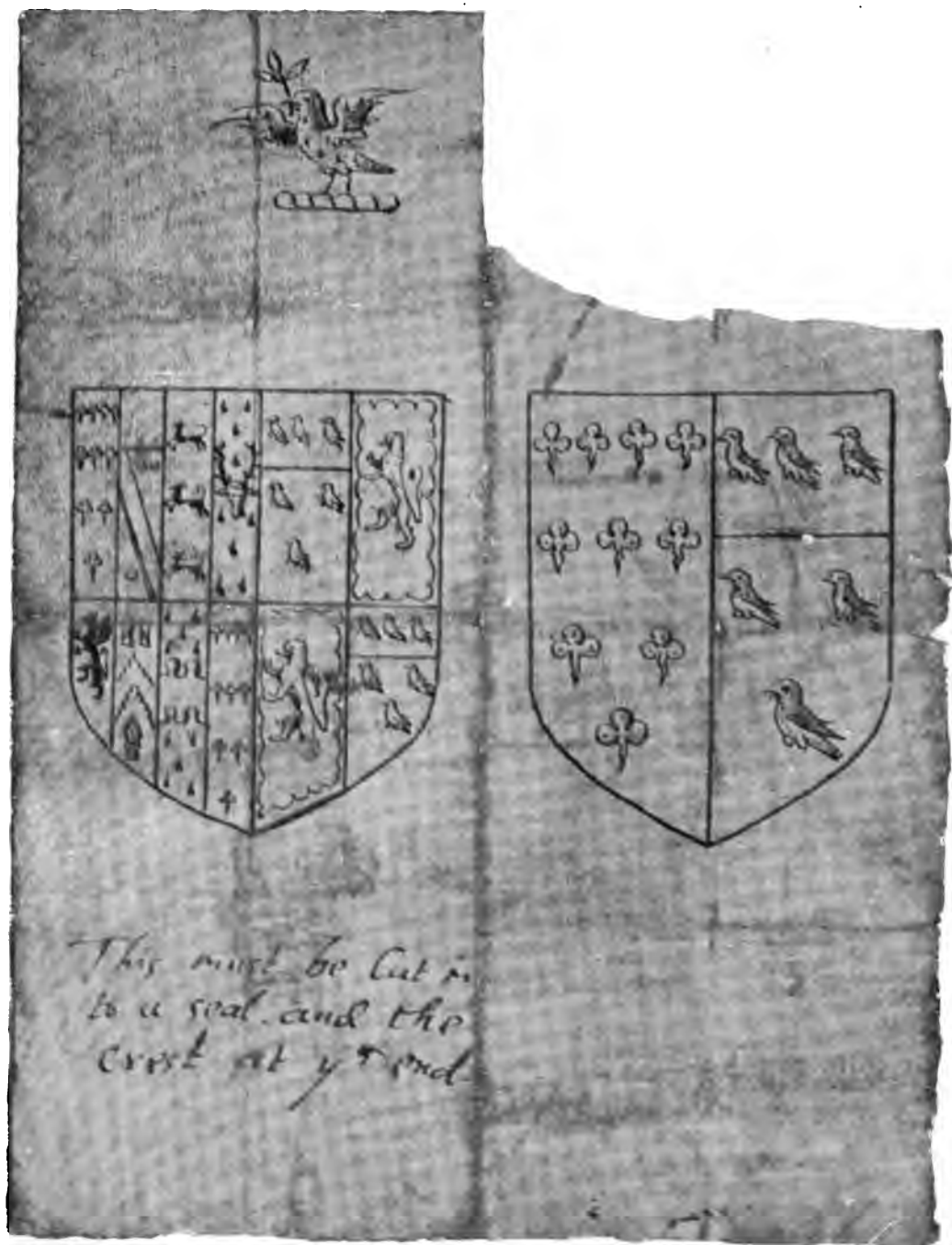
¹ The following letter from Edward Moore to Dorothy Fenwick is specially interesting, as it refers to the cutting of his arms in the form of a seal. The drawing to which he alludes is probably the original of the plate on the opposite page.

MY DEARE.

For ye cutting of ye armes I have bene about it, and found boith our families exactly, tell [till] it come to you being a Coyhaire and me being haire to my Faither, but they cannot be drawne tell ye Morning, and then I intend to send them you by Eight of the Clocke.

If you please to goe to ye Lawer I am towld is name is M^r Walsted living in ye next Gouldsmith Shope to Temple-bare on ye Same Side y^e ye Tempelle [is] one. I intend God willing to see you according to our apointed time and place.

Madam your Cevillities haith continually oblige me to Serve you more than



EDWARD MOORE'S ARMS

From the Original Sketch

old acquaintance of Edward Moore's who has been suffering from "the Janders," and, the countess adds quaintly, "if you could motion her a good husband I sopose that to be a perfect cure for the Janders."

But even this moment in his history was not free from those monetary cares and worries that seem to have played so large a part in his life, for in October of this year, within apparently a few weeks of his marriage, we find him bargaining with the careful Corporation of Liverpool for a debt of £100 contracted many years before by his father, which with interest had grown to £160. So cramped were his finances at this time that he was obliged to ask for a month's grace in which to pay the sum.

Among his papers is a curious instrument, dated a year later than this, an exact explanation of which is yet to seek. It seems to be his enrolment as a member in a kind of Oddfellows' Lodge of possibly a convivial character, though such a suggestion seems rather out of place when made of the austere and gloomy Edward Moore. The document recites that "Don Edward Moore, Knight of our famous Order," is initiated into "our knowne transcendant Societie of Moonkification," and a great deal more in a similar

I can at this time exprese, yet nothing but wth you may justly chalange as your due from him whoe is

Graise Inne
y^e 3 Apr:
1656.

Madam
Yo^r Most Faithfull
Ser^t
EDW: MOORE.

[Endorsed] These, For y^e vertious
The Ladye Dorithy
Fenwicke.

[Seal, a shield with eight quarterings.]

strain. The document is endorsed in Edward Moore's handwriting, "My Paton of Monkery." It is rather a contrast to turn over the next document in the series and find it entitled, in the same handwriting, "The way to Eternall life; first as to my own perticular and next as to the ordering of my own family."

In the following year (1658) we find Edward Moore for the first time in violent collision with the Corporation of Liverpool, the first but not the last time by any means; and it is probably such actions as this on the part of the Corporation that went to embitter him so much against the officials of the town, a bitterness which finds constant expression in the Rental. The dispute arose about the proper boundary of the town, especially that part by the Beacon Heyes and Gutter,¹ and ended in a prolonged suit in the Court of Chancery which was eventually compromised in 1660.

In one of the many draft petitions drawn up by Moore and his wife a year or two later than this, is one, remaining among his papers, which pleads that Moore was actually in prison for a time owing to his father's debts. If this were so it probably was just at this time, as there still exists a quaint and amusing letter written by the Rev. Joseph Thomson, Rector of Sefton, to Edward Moore, who was apparently in hiding, stating that "at Bankhall they were breaking up house and disposing of the goods," and though the writer tried to seize a "trunke of plate" to preserve it for Edward Moore, he only got "hard wordes" for his pains

¹ A line now approximately marked by Boundary Street, leading down to the Wellington Dock.

from the steward, "instead of a cup of beare to drinke." To add to all Moore's worries, just at this moment his only sister married, contrary to his desire, a Mr. John Leigh, and Moore forbade her ever to return to Bank Hall. To this Thomson also alludes in his letter, and hopes that Moore is not in earnest, and adds "it will be the greatest disgrace that ever came to you, and will not easely be got [rid] of, you haveinge but one sister in the world . . . had not Mrs. Chambres beene with her she had nye gone out of her witts."

With Oliver Cromwell's death in 1658 the comparative tranquillity of England was rudely disturbed, and the two years which followed must have been the most anxious in all Moore's care-filled life. Without any settled convictions, an opportunist of the most pronounced kind, Edward Moore intrigued first with one side and then with the other. In January 1659 we find him eagerly pressing the Speaker of the House of Commons to commission him to raise a troop of horse and another of foot to seize the Castle of Liverpool and declare for the Parliament; while according to his own statement (which may however be taken with some reserve) he attempted to raise a regiment, a few months later, to support Sir George Booth in his Royalist rising. In May 1660 the wheel of fortune took its final turn and King Charles came in, and with this event Moore's life reached its crisis. Till lately a man of professed Cromwellian leanings, and the son of a regicide, he could expect but scant grace at the hands of the exultant Royalists; and had it not been for his admirable wife, who seems to have been a most capable and statesmanlike woman, the day of his reckoning would have come. But Dorothy Moore as Dorothy Fenwick had not

only through her father, but actually in her own person, suffered much and often for the Royal cause, and there was but poetic justice in the grant to her in trust of all her husband's estates, which had been forfeited to the Crown "on account of the adherence of Colonel John Moore to the Commonwealth."

Edward Moore's family life seems to have been in bright contrast to his public behaviour. His marriage brought him nothing but happiness, and there is something touching and beautiful in the way that he always speaks of his wife.

The next few years of Moore's life were largely uneventful; he seems to have been employed mainly in working at the development of his Liverpool estate. The new impetus which the trade of the town received after the Restoration was reacting very favourably on his property, and in all directions new buildings were springing up, and fresh streets being projected. Though we find him from time to time quarrelling with the town authorities, and though the great disappointment of his rejection by the town, as member and mayor, came to him at this period, we may regard this as the serenest decade of his life. He had several sons and one daughter born to him about this time.¹

¹ It may be worth while putting on record the particulars of Moore's family, so far as I have been able to glean them. He himself was baptized at Walton 9th November 1634; married Dorothy Fenwick about October 1656 (of his second marriage I can find no particulars); and died 4th October 1678, being buried at St. Nicholas' 9th October 1678. Administration of his goods was granted to Mary, his widow, October 1678. His personalty was sworn at less than £500. His children by his first wife were: William, born about 1657, died of smallpox 17th June 1672; Edward, born —, buried at St. Nicholas' 26th February 1662-3; Thomas, born —, died of smallpox 21st June 1672; CLEAVE (the 2nd baronet), baptized at Walton 5th March 1663-4, died 1730; Fenwick, born —, died of smallpox 28th June 1672, buried at Walton 29th June 1672; Frances, baptized at Walton 11th December 1667;

In spite of Edward Moore's poverty and embarrassments, which however must have grown less under his careful management as the years went by, he seems to have kept up considerable style at Bank Hall, where he lived, the Old Hall having been leased to Alderman Andow, though, as Moore remarks, "never leased this many hundred years before," but "the great debt my father left me in, being near £10,000, forced me to raise some money by leasing it." As an example of the comparatively lavish scale on which they entertained, the following note, in Edward Moore's handwriting on the back of a letter from Lord Brabazon, may be quoted: "My Lord Brabazon's letter to me. This Lord Brabazon came [to wait] for a wind to goe for Ireland and he, the Lady, Coch and 6 horses & footmen, one page, 2 gromes, a Post Tilion, a Cochman, a gentleman and a master of the Horse, and 2 maids lay at Bankhall 7 months and never offered me a Penny not so much as a token for there sevillitys."

The clouds, however, began to darken once more round Edward Moore when in 1672 he lost three of his sons within fourteen days from that terrible scourge, smallpox.¹ There is an allusion to this sad event in William Blundell's diary, and one of Moore's letters is endorsed, "Charles Earll of Derby letter to me upon the death of my three sonnes which died of the smale pox all in 14 days' time. The Lord Jesus in mercy let never ye like affliction come to this pore family

Gray, born —, buried at St. Nicholas', 22nd June 1669; an infant, unbaptized, buried at St. Nicholas', *ante* 1668; and a daughter, living 1673. By his second wife, Mary Bloodworth, he is said to have had a boy and girl. The boy died young, but the girl is said to have grown up, and may have been a Matilda Moore, to whom allusion is made in some of the Moore papers under date 1690.

¹ Perhaps one of the things that is most remarkable in a study of the domestic history of this and the following century is the appalling ravages of smallpox.

of mine agen. Amen." One of these three was his eldest son William, the boy to whom all the directions and instructions in the Rental are addressed. To crown all, in June of the following year Edward Moore lost his devoted wife Dorothy, whose pathetic dying letter to her absent husband is still preserved.¹ At her death she only left alive two out of the nine children she had borne to Edward Moore—Cleave Moore, afterwards the second baronet, the dissipator of the estates, and a daughter who was much in her mind at the last, as evidenced by her letter.

Two years later a baronetcy fell to Edward Moore, which it is believed was originally intended for him fifteen years earlier, and about this time he is said to have married for his

¹ This letter (which is printed in App. Part IV. Tenth Rept. Hist. MSS. Com.) is worthy of being reproduced here.

MY DEARE HART,—As you very wel knowe I have taken partie withy as a loyall wife ought to doe. Thearefore these are the desyres of a poore dying wife ; that you would bee pleased never to forsake these poore children I have left behind mee ; you have no reeson but to marry ; but for Jeasus sake bee not harsh with them.

But beestow your doughter as soon as you can be-cause you know the bad sukeses [?successes] the doughters have had formerly of this fammilie for if you keepe her at home in yur fammilie there maye be mouch danger but let her be put to some frind that will be careful of her ; and my desire is that you will give her my child bed Linnings the quillet box and a Tronke of your best Linnings & all my clothes ; I doe die sattisfid you will grant all this and much moore. I have Church stufe I would have you give it to the Church that my soule maye be praid for and if you will give it my doughter will tell you whoe it must be given too. For legasis or any such thing I bege none but too [two] that is Boden and Jonathan for they have taken a true part with me & you Deare.

One thing more I beg of you that you will not thinke of letting Cleave go beyond sea but that he maye bee a good honest conteri gentleman to enjoy all that you and I have taken panes to preserve with care and troble.

These are all the desyres of a poore dying wife.

DOROTHY MOORE.

June y^e 6^h '73.

[Endorsed] These for Edward Moore Esquire of Bank Hall
With care.

second wife a daughter of Sir Thomas Bloodworth, who was Lord Mayor of London in the year of the Great Fire, and whose foolish behaviour was the subject of severe strictures at the hands of Pepys. Moore must now have been getting into very much easier if not actually wealthy circumstances, as the decade from 1665 to 1675 was a great era in the expansion of Liverpool, and every fresh house that was built on Moore's land meant a substantial sum into the pockets of the landlord; but his temper does not seem to have improved, and we find on almost every page of the Liverpool Town Records for this period evidence of the perversity and obstinacy of Sir Edward Moore, as he was now styled. He was constantly being presented and fined for offences against the liberties and prerogatives of the town, and each conviction must have accentuated the bitter feelings which are so freely expressed in the Rental against the Corporation. But the last scene in the play is at hand, and in 1678, after only forty-four years of life, but forty-four years full of storm and fret and toilsome warring, Edward Moore was laid to rest among his fathers, within the weather-beaten walls of the grey old Chapel of St. Nicholas by the shore.

IV

The document itself is a ponderous folio volume of six hundred pages, but only about one sixth of the book has been used, the remainder being left blank. It is written in a rather untidy hand. Some former owner has inserted a few unimportant documents relating to the Moore family, but the Editor has not been able to find any history of the book beyond

that which is stated in the preface, namely, that it belonged, until twenty years ago, to a Mr. Thomas Moore of Seacombe, who claimed descent from the Moores of Bank Hall.

Edward Moore appears to have drawn up the Rental, as he styles it, in 1668,¹ commencing his labours on St. Matthew's Day, and breaking off abruptly in the autumn of the same year.² It was compiled for the benefit of his son and heir William, who was at this time about eleven years old. Sad to tell, the boy never lived to reap the benefit of his careful father's precepts, dying, as has been said already, during an epidemic of smallpox in 1672.

Moore begins his work with a pious invocation for Divine guidance and protection for himself and his; "for the good of our family and the preservation of our poor souls." Then follows a series of texts, relating to humility, love, forgiveness of enemies, righteousness, avoidance of strife and other kindred subjects, and concluding with the prayer, "Lord Jesus grant that I and mine may observe the several divine rules above said"—a prayer which does not seem to have been answered, if we are to judge from the bitter malice and savage denunciations which fill the pages that follow. Moore then goes on to give his son some excellent advice on reading. He recommends the study of Baxter, John Wickliffe, Bishop Jewell, Dr. Reynolds, Humphreys, Whitaker, Archbishop Laud, and Hooker, besides some less well-known writers. After this he recommends Oxford to his son as the more

¹ It must be borne in mind that the year at this time was reckoned from the 26th March, and therefore what Moore calls February 1667, was February 1668 by the new style of reckoning.

² A portion of it (especially that referring to Pool Lane), may have been written as late as 1669 or 1670 but nearly the whole of it must have been finished, as we now have it, by the late autumn of 1668.

desirable university, because Oxford "by reason of the situation has far the better air, and in Brazenose College there are many peculiar privileges in favour of Lancashire men." He suggests that his son should enter as a Battler, and adds that thirty pounds a year will very well maintain him, and details the manner in which this sum will be expended.

From arranging a university for his son, Moore turns to the real business of the document, and proceeds to draw up "A true, just and exact Rental . . . of all such yearly old Rent (or Rent of assize as we call it in Lancashire) with chief and feefarm rents as are due and payable . . . at our Lady Day and Michaelmas . . . together with the fines (as near as I can judge) those several tenements are worth, if clear out of lease, what improvements may be made in several places, to the great advantage of your estate, what lives are at present in each Tenement, what rent together with hens, geese, with other boons, suit or services are paid or done, with several remarkable observations," &c.

Beginning in Oldhall Street, he takes his son throughout the whole town, detailing his property and making "several remarkable observations" on the characters and behaviour of his various tenants. The peculiar value of the document consists in the insight it gives into the condition of the town and its inhabitants at a specially critical period of its history. There are few towns that can boast of possessing so accurate and graphic a picture of their condition more than two hundred years ago, and it is all the more telling in that the account was not written for publication, nor as a deliberate description of the town, but merely for the private information of a son and heir.

V

Sir Cleave Moore,¹ the second baronet, who succeeded his father, was the only surviving son, and scarcely fifteen years of age at the time of his father's death. How he came to get the estates so involved as to be eventually forced to submit to a foreclosure does not appear; probably a portion of the encumbrance was inherited with the property. Sir Cleave is mainly known as one of the pioneers of water engineering. Early in the eighteenth century he obtained an Act of Parliament to enable him to bring water into Liverpool from Bootle, but the scheme was never carried through.

About 1690 he appears to have commenced borrowing money from a certain Sir John Moore, a wealthy London alderman—no relation of his own, though bearing the same name—and this went on until in 1712 the sum amounted to about £15,000. At this point he seems to have given up all hope of recovering his Liverpool estates from their involved condition, and shortly afterwards submitted to a foreclosure and retired to the south of England, where he settled on a property which came to him by marriage. He sat in the House of Commons as member for Bramber in Sussex,

¹ Among Lord Kenyon's manuscripts (Hist. MSS. Com. 14th Rept. App. Part IV.) is a letter dated Feb. 4, 1693-4 from a Thomas Marsden to Roger Kenyon, M.P., in which he says: "What say you but this post brings me Sir Cleave Moore's desire to succeed the Lord Colchester at Liverpool, when the old Earl turns off. His father[-in-law], Mr. Edmunds, has also ticketed me, in order to the same end. But I should hate myself if the notion of a landlord should rob me of a principle of honesty. I shall not desert worthy Mr. Bretherton for such an useless spark."

In the British Museum is a curious "Vindication" by Sir Cleave Moore "upon the suing forth a Commission of Lunacy against Joseph Edmonds, Esq.," dated 1711.

and died on March 29, 1730. The family ended in an heiress in 1810.

The mortgagee seems to have sold the estates in various lots at different dates, a considerable portion being purchased by the Earl of Derby.

VI

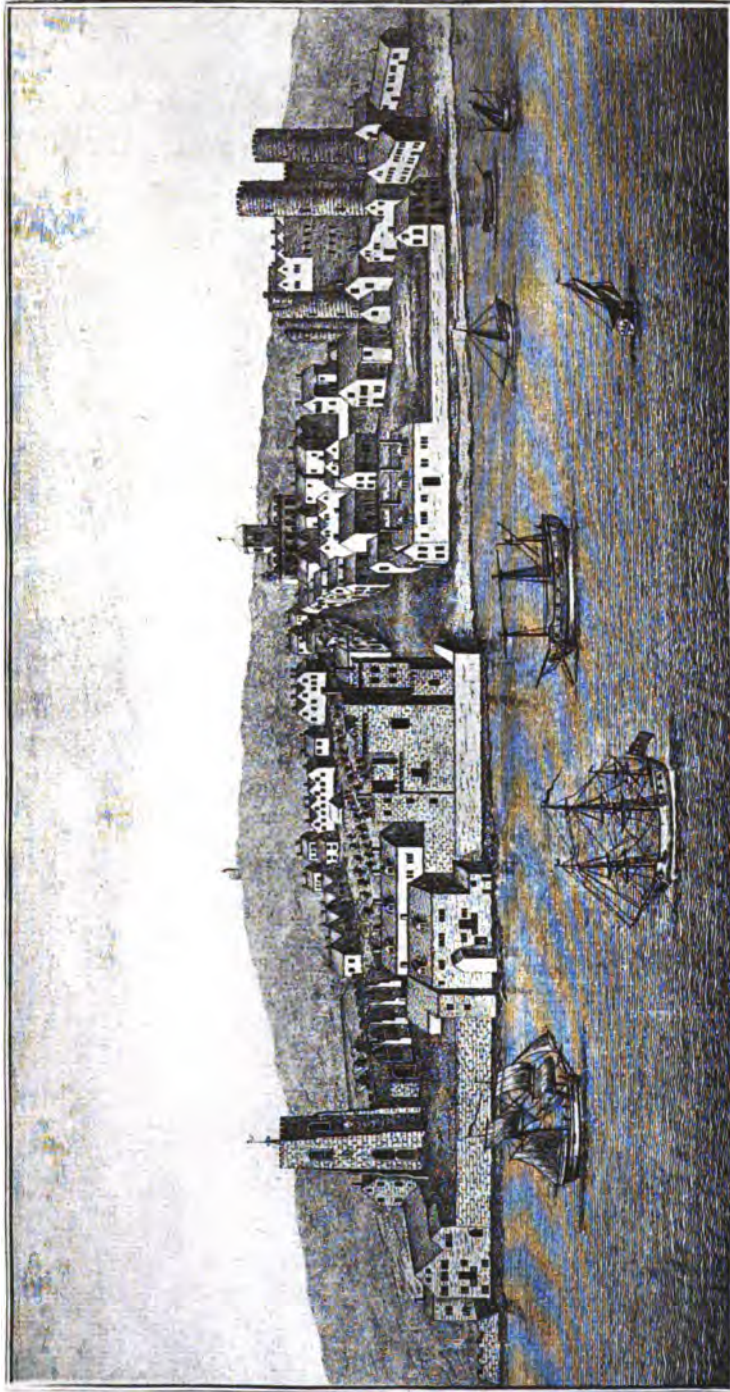
No better or more interesting period could have been chosen by Edward Moore for his survey of the town than the one in which he wrote his Rental. The decade following the Restoration (1660-70) may be described as the most momentous in the whole history of Liverpool. After centuries of comparatively quiet vegetating the town suddenly began to expand, and entered on a career of development and increase that has few parallels in history.

After the torpor, or at best the very slow growth of the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, the town began to show signs of increasing life and activity during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but the troublous times of Charles and the Commonwealth that followed were unfavourable to progress, and it was not until the Restoration that a manifest change was apparent. This sudden breaking of the old chrysalis shell was due largely to the growth of the trade of South-West Lancashire and Yorkshire, which was materially assisted by the facilities that the river Mersey afforded for export to Ireland, Scotland, and more distant countries. Other causes, too, were at work contributing to the same end. In a case laid before Parliament in 1699 it is stated that "after the Plague and the great fire of London several ingenious men

settled in Liverpool, which originated the trade of the port to the plantations and other places. This so enlarged its commerce that from scarcely paying the salaries of the officers of Customs, Liverpool before the close of the century possessed the third part of the trade of the country, and paid the King upwards of £50,000 a year in customs." A partial confirmation of this statement is to be found in the Rental, where Moore mentions that "one Mr. Smith, a great sugar baker at London . . . came to treat with me" for a piece of land whereon to build a sugar-bakery. "If this be done," he writes, "it will bring a trade of at least forty thousand pounds a year from the Barbadoes which formerly this town never knew."

Liverpool in 1650 covered very little more ground, so far as streets and houses were concerned, than did the town in the time of the Plantagenets, but between the years 1660 and 1670, in addition to the rebuilding necessary after the devastation caused by the sieges, an actual extension of the town took place, which must have entirely changed its appearance. New streets and houses sprang up on all hands, fresh manufactures were founded, new trades developed, and the sleepy old borough must have rubbed its eyes to see capitalists from London, worth "full forty thousand pounds," erecting great square blocks of stone buildings, where formerly a few cattle grazed or wheat was grown.

The commercial centre of the town at the present day bears in a score of places the imprint of this time, and its outline, so far as the main streets are concerned, is little altered from the day when Edward Moore drew up his survey. It is remarkable to notice how many of the tenants' names of this period crystallised into the fixed designations



W. Harrison del. J. Wilson sculp.

View of Liverpool about the year 1680, from an old engraving.

of streets and lanes. Starting at the foot of Chapel Street, Moore mentions the house and field of one Thomas Lancelot, "a drunken, idle fellow," he calls him, through whose ground in a year or two was carried a street, which still bears his name in Lancelot's Hey. Going farther into the town we enter Tithebarn Street, and find the house of one John Hacking, through whose "hey" or field Moore recommends a street being made to join Tithebarn Street and Dale Street. "It will make a brave street," he says, and many of the cotton-brokers who now have their offices in Hackin's Hey will no doubt endorse his judgment. Moorfields itself is another example of the same principle. "My cousin Hockenhall" from across the river, with whom Moore had some furious quarrels, left his name in Hockenhall's Alley, which still runs northward out of Dale Street from opposite the Conservative Club. Edward Moore's wife, Dorothy, was a Fenwick of Meldon, and, as he tells us himself, he named his new street Fenwick Street, after her father, while Old Ropery, leading out of it, shows where the "spinning-place" or ropewalk of the Rental lay. Moor Street, leading from Fenwick Street to the river, was one of Sir Edward's chief sources of joy. How highly he prized it may be seen by the fact that among his papers is to be found a long doggerel poem detailing its grandeur and beauty! Next to Moor Street we still have James Street, named after Roger James, one of the tenants, "a very honest man, and a good woman to his wife." "Mr. Alderman Preeson's Row" of houses (still called Preeson's Row) is the subject of some remarks by Moore; and the hard character of "Baly Johnson" troubled him sorely, Baillie Johnson being the father of the famous Sir Thomas who

succeeded his father as tenant of the large croft in Dale Street belonging to the Moores, on part of which the Municipal Buildings now stand, and through a portion of which runs Sir Thomas Street, so named in honour of that indefatigable knight. "The New Quay" was a favourite project of Sir Edward's, and the name is with us to-day ; and one might go on for some time quoting further instances, but enough has been said to show how deep a mark this period has left on the face of Liverpool.

For another reason this time was one of far-reaching import to the town of Liverpool. Lord Molyneux had bought the Crown rights over the town in 1632, and so considered that he, as Lord of the Manor, was entitled to rights over the town waste or common land. Some fields sloping down to the Pool from the Castle belonged to the Molyneux family, and his brother Caryl, who succeeded him, decided in 1668 to make a street through this field for his tenants, and to bridge the Pool, so continuing his street over the common along the line of the present Church Street. This the Corporation strenuously opposed, on the ground that they and not Lord Molyneux had seigniorial rights over the common, and after some years of litigation a compromise was effected in 1672. By this Lord Molyneux was allowed to proceed with his street, called after himself, and since shortened to Lord Street, and to build his bridge on the payment of a nominal rent, while he on his part sold to the Corporation all his rights to the over-lordship of Liverpool, with all dues and customs, on a lease for a thousand years, at an annual rent of £30, the burgage rents and ferries only being excepted. This arrangement was eminently satisfactory to both parties,

Lord Molyneux got his bridge, and the Corporation were rid of the galling bondage which had so long hampered them; and when the time came for an extension of the town across the Pool to take place, and buildings were started on the Great Heath, the Corporation began to reap the benefit in the rents and fines which they received for their leasehold property, until to-day the revenue to the city is upwards of £75,000, while for the tolls and dues, which were leased in 1672 for £30 per annum, the sum received when sold under Parliamentary power in 1856 was £1,500,000.

It will probably interest many readers to know the names of the townsmen with whom Moore came daily in contact (one might almost say conflict), and for this purpose a list of those who paid the Hearth Tax in Liverpool in 1663 has been printed at length in the Appendix.

This Hearth Tax was first levied in 1662,¹ and under it every dwelling-house in England and Wales became chargeable in an annual payment, for each "Fire-hearth or Stove" in the said house, of the sum of two shillings, to be paid in two equal portions at Michaelmas and Lady-day; the only exceptions to the Act being in the case of such "poor persons as are usually exempted from the payment of taxes towards the Church and the Poor," and occupiers of houses of an annual "full improved rent" of less than twenty shillings, and who did not possess goods and chattels of a greater value than ten pounds. A farther exception was made in favour of any "Blowing House or Stampe-Furnace or Kiln," or any "private oven."

It will be seen from this how wide a sweep the tax would

¹ The Act is 14 Car. II. cap. 10.

make, including practically every householder, except the very poorest, so that the returns made to the Exchequer give us a very complete list of the inhabitants of England for the year in which they were filed. There are two especially complete Rolls for Lancashire still preserved at the Public Record Office, and a portion of one of these has been chosen for reproduction in the Appendix, where it stands as the earliest Directory of the town of Liverpool yet printed. It is surprising to see how many of the houses in Liverpool at this time could only boast of a single hearth, while many of the more affluent of the townsfolk were content with two.

It may not be out of place to add here the description of the town written in 1673—*i.e.* four or five years after the date of the writing of the Rental—by Blome, the well-known topographer. It is specially interesting, as much of the information was evidently supplied by Edward Moore himself:—

“Lerpoole or Leverpoole, commodiously seated on the goodly river Mersey, where it affords a bold and safe harbour for ships, which at low water may ride at four fathoms, and at high at ten ; which said river is navigable for many miles into the country, and affords abundance of all sorts of fowl and fish, especially great quantities of lampres and smelts of the largest size, so plentifully taken, that they are commonly sold for 20 a peny.

“It is an ancient borough and corporation, sending two representatives to Parliament. It is governed by a Mayor, Bailiffs, Aldermen, Recorder, Town-Clerk, and Common Counsel consisting of 40 Burgesses : and those that are free of this town have the great benefit of being freemen of Bristol, as also of Waterford and Weshford, in Ireland. It is of late, at the

great charge and industry of the family of the Mores of Bank Hall, beautified with many goodly buildings, all of hewen stone, much to the honour and advancement of the said town : which family of the Mores, for some hundred of years, have had a large propriety therein, and at present continue chief lords and owners of the greatest share thereof, having divers streets that bear their name intirely of their inheritance ; which hath so enlarged the town, that its Church (though large and good, wherein were four chantries of ancient and honorable foundation) is not enough to hold its inhabitants, which are many ; amongst which are divers eminent merchants and tradesmen, whose trade and traffick, especially into the West Indies, makes it famous ; its scituation affording in greater plenty, and at reasonabler rates then most parts of England, such exported commodities proper for the West Indies, as likewise a quicker return for such imported commodities, by reason of the sugar-bakers, and great manufacturers of cottens in the adjacent parts, and the rather for that it is found to be the convenientest passage to Ireland, and divers considerable counties in England with which they have intercourse of traffick. Here is now erecting at the publick charge of the Mayor, Aldermen, &c., a famous Town-house, placed on pillars and arches of hewen stone ; and underneath is the publick Exchange for the merchants. It hath a very considerable market on Saturdays for all sorts of provisions, and divers commodities which are bought by the merchants, and thence transported as aforesaid. Amongst the places of antiquity that this town may boast itself of, these are not to be omitted—viz. on the south side stands a Castle (which commands the Pool) built by King John during his stay here for

a wind to Ireland. On the west side, upon the said river, is a stately and strong pile of building, called the Tower, erected many hundred years ago by S^r Jo. de Stanley and his Lady who lye enter'd in the chancel under their alabaster tombs.

"On the north side is a mansion-house called Old Hall, formerly More Hall, which gives name to the street it stands in, wherein S^r Jo. de la More, K^t lived temp. Henry III., as did many of his ancestors before that time; the truth of which appears by several deeds now in the custody of the Mores of Bank Hall, who are successively heirs in name and blood to them. And on the east side is an ancient mansion-house, called Cross Hall, where divers worthy gentlemen of that name have lived for many generations. Here is also a great piece of antiquity, formerly a Chappel, now a Free School; at the west end whereof, next the river, stood the statue of St. Nicholas (long since defaced and gone), to whom the mariners offered when they went to sea."

VII

In order to get some idea of the extent and character of the town in 1668, to the better understanding of the Rental, it may be worth while examining the streets more in detail, and perhaps the best method will be to make a perambulation of the town. Though the township of Liverpool at this time covered as much ground as it does to-day, the town itself was confined within a triangle formed, roughly speaking, by the river, the Pool, and a line drawn from Dale Street end

to the river bank near the Old Hall, the portion which may now be called the business centre of the town.

Beginning our survey at the foot of Chapel Street, which ended simply on the shore, the high tides washing up the street sometimes as far as the foot of the Chapel Tower, we notice on the north side, probably near the site of Buxton Buildings, a square structure. "An old salt-house," Moore says it was, which had been fitted up as a battery during the siege and dignified with the name of the Mardyke Fort. Opposite it, on the south side, between what is now the Simpson Memorial Fountain and the Church Tower, and standing in the Chapel yard, was the old Free School, the "great piece of antiquity," mentioned by Blome, at the west end of which in early days stood an image of St. Nicholas, to which the sailors outward bound offered before leaving the port.

Some idea of the narrowness of the streets may be gathered when we realise that, until quite recently, a row of houses stood between St. Nicholas' Church and Chapel Street, thus narrowing the street down to a width of less than ten yards.

Next to St. Nicholas', as we go up the street, stood in 1668, and for many years afterwards, a quaint old timbered house called the Church Stile House, which was the town residence of the Tarlton family. The site is still marked by a house of the same name. Covent Garden was not cut at this time, though Moore suggests such a street, and houses probably stood shoulder to shoulder all the way up Chapel Street, without a break of any kind to left or right, till the junction of Oldhall Street and Juggler Street was reached. At this point stood the White Cross. To the left, as we face east, ran Oldhall Street, which, be it remembered, was only

that portion which reached to the Old Hall, beyond which it became the "lane leading into the Town Fields." To the right ran Juggler Street, afterwards High Street, curving across what are now the Exchange Flags, and passing the present Town Hall on the east.

Continuing up Tithebarn Street, which was even narrower and more tortuous than Chapel Street, we reach Dig Lane, now Cheapside, before any break is to be found either to north or south, though for some considerable distance on both sides, especially on the north, fields take the place of houses. Close to the end of Cheapside, and at the corner now formed by Marybone, Vauxhall Road, Great Crosshall Street, and Hatton Garden, stood a second cross, known as St. Patrick's Cross. Near it was a pond or watering-place for cattle, the Tithebarn, from which the street took its name, and the open space called Moore Green. Crossing the fields along the line of Great Crosshall Street, we should reach a little cluster of houses which for centuries was known as Eastham (not to be confounded with the village of the same name in Wirral) where Byrom Street and Richmond Row now branch. Here the famous Eastham or Everston Mill stood, though it is doubtful whether it was in use in Moore's time.

Passing down Byrom Street, then "Everton Causeway," we reach the bridge which led from the end of Dale Street over the Pool head to "the road to Prescot," now William Brown Street. This bridge marked one of the extremities of the town, and the district around it was known as Townsend. Going down Dale Street in the direction of the Town Hall, we pass on the left, Crosse Hall, the seat of the Crosses

of Liverpool, a family which at this time almost rivalled the Moores in importance. On the right-hand side we find the other end of Dig Lane or Cheapside, and next to it Moore's Sugar House Close, of which he was so proud, and directly opposite it the excellent fields in the hands of "Baly" Johnson sloping down to the Pool, which at this point followed the line of the present Whitechapel. The north side of Dale Street was probably fairly well built up, but the south side seems to have been more sparsely occupied, and all along fine sloping fields ran down to the Pool side. At the end of Dale Street, where it met Castle Street and Juggler Street, stood the High Cross, round which the market was held. At the end of a line drawn for ten yards straight out from the west side of Castle Street, from the point where the new buildings of Parr's Bank touch the walls of No. 18, will be found in the roadway a small blue boulder sunk level with the surrounding stone setts and chiselled into squares in imitation of them. This innocent-looking stone for many a long year marked the south-western extremity of the area sacred to the Liverpool Fairs. A similar stone used to be in Dale Street, opposite the end of Stanley Street,¹ and this formed the other extremity. Between these two points, for ten days before and after the Fairs, a debtor might walk free from arrest, provided he had come to the Fair on lawful business. This fact is mentioned not only on account of its curious character, but also because, since Edward Moore was for many years deeply involved in debt, and even at one time in prison for it, it is possible that he may actually have had recourse to such a protection.

¹ Picton's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 26.

The High Cross stood in the embayment which still exists opposite the south-east corner of the Town Hall.

Between the High Cross and the White Cross ran Juggler Street, afterwards High Street. At the corner of Juggler Street, on a spot which is now almost the centre of the modern Dale Street, stood Fairhurst's Tavern, to which Moore alludes, and next to it, on what is now the south-west corner of the Liverpool, London, and Globe Insurance Buildings, stood the Town Hall. This Town Hall had been St. Mary's Hall before the dissolution of the Chantries, and was doubtless once the headquarters of the Merchants' Guild. Not only was it used as a Town Hall, but it seems also to have been the Customs House until some years after this, and part of it was occupied as the town's prison. It continued in use until 1673, when the new Town Hall, to which Blome alludes in his description of Liverpool, was built in the middle of Castle Street, in front of the present Town Hall.

Castle Street was the widest of all the Liverpool streets, at all events at the north end, though it narrowed a great deal before it reached the Castle moat, a deep one, cut in the solid rock, and crossing the present Castle Street opposite the North and South Wales Bank. Castle Street, it must be remembered, only ran as far as Harrington Street (then known as Castle Hey), and probably was not built up close to the Castle until a comparatively short time before the period with which we are now dealing.

At the Castle, which at this time was falling into decay, the road ended abruptly, but a footpath led round the east side, skirting the top of what is now Lord Street, a street

which in this year, 1668, as has been already said, Lord Molyneux was busy laying out. At the "back of the Castle," now the open space at the head of South Castle Street, where the cabs stand, the pathway opened out into a broad street, and ran down to the Pool, being known as Pool Lane. At the end of this, but slightly to the east, was the bridge over the Pool, to which constant reference is made at this time in the Town Records.

Returning to the High Cross, the only streets that remain to be dealt with are Water Street, Fenwick Street, and Moor Street. Water Street ran much as it does to-day (though scarcely a quarter of its present width), the chief object of interest being the Tower, which stood at the foot, on the site of the present Tower Buildings. This ancient fortified house was built in 1406 by Sir John Stanley, an ancestor of the Earls of Derby, and existed until the beginning of the present century.

Fenwick Street was one of the new streets that was being laid out at this time by the enterprising Moore through his own fields. The peculiar feature of the street was that towards the south end, nearly opposite the present Exchange Club, the road was carried by a bridge over a gully in which was a rope-walk. This part was called Dry Bridge for many years after the structure itself had disappeared. No Brunswick Street existed at this time, but at the south end Moor Street ran down to the river. Moor Street is one of the few streets that has not been widened since the days of Charles the Second, so that if any one wishes to realise what was considered at this time a noble and imposing thoroughfare, this street may be commended to his careful examination.

But it must not be forgotten that, besides the actual town itself, there was in the township of Liverpool a large tract of land stretching away to the eastward up to the ridge on which were Everton and Edge Hill, and extending south as far as Upper Parliament Street (then the "great stone wall" of Toxteth Park), and north to the confines of Kirkdale, now marked by Boundary Street.

To the north and east of the town lay the three great Town Fields to which so many references occur in the Rental, and to the south, across the Pool, was the Great Heath and the Moss Lake.

It is interesting to notice that the same arrangement which once prevailed in nearly all the primitive village communities of England is still to be traced at this time in Liverpool; in the centre the heys or enclosed lands; beyond these the common fields of the township; and beyond these again the pasture lands and waste of the manor.

VIII

There are several points in the Rental which require explanation. Terms are used with which we are familiar to-day, but they are used with quite other meanings from those which we attach to them, and unless these points are made clear a reading of the document may be misleading.

It may be well to take in the first instance the question of the nature of the tenure under which Moore's tenants held their land. It was the rule at this time for leases to be granted for terms of lives. An example of the kind of lease

Edward Moore specially affected will be seen in the Appendix, where an original lease is printed in full. The length of the various leases and the conditions differed, but as a rule the tenant paid a sum of money down for the lease, and thereafter, for the period over which the lease extended, paid a small annual rent, besides doing certain days of free service for the landlord and providing two, three, or five hens at Christmas or on some other fixed day. The duration of the lease was fixed in what appears to us a very unsatisfactory way, being usually for the term of "three lives," and wherein these leases differed from the modern lease was that the "lives" were not computed periods of time, but actual lives of known persons. Thus it was possible for a lease to fall in in a few weeks if all the lives mentioned in the document chanced to extinguish owing to a plague or a series of unexpected deaths. On the other hand, if one of the lives put in the lease were that of a very young child, the lease might extend over a period of ninety or even a hundred years. As Moore was anxious to encourage building on his land, he sometimes charged a new tenant no fine (or preliminary payment), on condition that he built a substantial house to Moore's specification, the landlord simply receiving his small annual rent, counting that when the lease fell in he would be in possession of a good substantial house that had cost him nothing, and which he could "fine" for a good sum to another tenant.

Thus of Widow Andow in Juggler Street Moore writes :
"This house I had no fine for. Her husband built it for his fine, but if now to be leased, worth at least fifty pounds fine.
. . . Lives in this house is only her own and Jane Andow

her daughter [the third life doubtless being that of Mr. Andow, now dead]. Three days' shearing, three hens at Christmas. Old rent, 6s. 8d. Other duties as old tenants are."

In case of a life falling out it was the usual custom, though no written provision seems to have been made, that the tenant should put in another life on payment of a small fine, usually about a quarter of the original sum. Thus under Widow Gretton in Fenwick Street Moore writes: "Since this house was built her husband died whose life was in the house, and I freely gave her one of her children's lives in for nothing; she was a poor widow."

An alternative form of lease was that which ran for only one life, but added twenty-one years after the extinction of the life. Such a lease will be seen in the Appendix, and another example occurs in the case of Robert Worrell in Fenwick Street, of whom Moore says: "Lives, only himself and twenty-one years," and goes on to explain that this was done as Robert Worrell was a young unmarried man, and had no children's lives to put in the lease, and did not care to put in the lives of strangers. It may be pointed out that it was not at all necessary that the lives put in the lease should have any direct interest in it; the lessee might choose the life of a perfect stranger. In the case of Thomas Galloway, "the most troublesome fellow I ever met with," Moore had promised him "three lives in it as he should name, and nothing will serve him but he will have my two eldest sons' lives," which choice seems to have annoyed Moore exceedingly.

The provisions in the leases for boon services, days of shearing, grinding at Moore's mills, and payments of hens and geese, will be explained in the next section. One more point may

need explanation, and that is the frequent reference to "lands in the town-field." "To this house belong seven [or more or less] lands in the town-field" is a phrase that constantly occurs. It must be remembered that many of these houses in Liverpool represented the holdings of franklins or free tenants in the manor, and consequently carried with them the right to a proportionate interest in the common or town land of the manor. Common land must not be understood in its modern sense, but in the sense of being land cultivated by all the tenants communistically. The great town-fields were ploughed over by the freeholders' plough, owned in common by the tenants, and were then marked out into "lands" or strips, each about an acre in extent, only divided from one another by a narrow balk of untilled land a furrow in width, or by boundary-stones. The actual sites of these lands did not necessarily belong to the same individual year after year. In many manors, after the whole field had been ploughed up, the different tenants were apportioned their various "lands" by lot, or by the arbitrary choice of the Lord of the Manor. By the time with which we are dealing, however, the holdings had probably become fixed in definite strips,¹ but the result of the former method was that the several "lands" held by the different tenants were often scattered up and down the town-fields in a curious way. There seem to have been three great fields of arable land in Liverpool, the Breck Shoot, together with the Oldfield, the Heavylands, and the Sea Shoot, and most of the tenants held one or more lands in each of the three fields.

¹ The Breck Shoot was still unenclosed in 1733.

IX

It is difficult to estimate at all closely the income that Moore enjoyed. The actual cash which he received year by year probably did not represent more than one half of the advantages which he derived from his estates. The right of multure or the power of compelling his tenants to bring their corn to be ground at his mills must have been a considerable source of revenue alone, and in addition to this there were the rents in kind and the days of boon service which his tenants rendered, by virtue of which he probably cultivated all his demesne lands without the expenditure of more than a few pounds in wages.

From his houses he appears to have drawn in annual rents about £60, while his pasture lands brought him in about £100 a year. One of the most striking contrasts in values that one sees from the Rental, is the relative difference in the value of pasture land and of dwelling-houses. Pasture land seems to have brought a rent of about twenty-five shillings an acre,¹ which does not compare at all unfavourably with the price of the same class of land to-day, when one allows for the difference in the value of money, while for even the largest houses such as the Old Hall itself, £15 a year rack rent seems to have been all that Moore expected. As to the rents in kind Moore seems to have received about two hundred hens annually, besides sundry geese, payments of

¹ When Moore speaks of an acre he probably means the Lancashire acre, which contained 7840 square yards, though in one instance he mentions the "acre of the largest measure," which is the Cheshire acre, containing 10,240 square yards.

white wine, Castille soap, and other commodities, which were usually paid at Christmas. In several cases in the Rental reference is made to the sum of eightpence as being the equivalent of a hen, so that £10 a year may probably be added as representing the cash value of these rents in kind. It is impossible to estimate at all accurately the cash value of the days of boon service, but since something like a hundred and twenty days of service had to be done, we may fairly put it down at another £10 a year at the very least. These boon or day services were particularly irksome and annoying in their character. For a given number of days in the year, the tenant was at the absolute disposal of the landlord. It might chance to be a very busy day for the tenant, a well-ripened crop of hay or corn might be lying waiting to be carried, but if the landlord sent for that man to do a day's reaping,¹ according to the terms of the lease, the tenant's hay or corn had to lie uncarried, the lord's field must be reaped.

Then there were the two mills, the horse-mill in Castle Street and the wind-mill at the Townsend. It may be well perhaps to say a word or two on the subject of the rights of mill-owners at this time. From the earliest period until quite a recent date the sole right to build or own a flour or malt mill vested in the Lord of the Manor, and all his tenants were bound to have their corn or malt ground only at his mill. Any tenant grinding elsewhere was liable to have not only his corn forfeited but even the horses that carried it.

¹ The "shearing" to which allusion is so often made by Moore in his leases must not be understood in its modern sense of wool-clipping, but in the sense still employed in some parts of Scotland of reaping either hay or corn.

The landlord had the right to levy a toll on all the corn and malt ground at his mill, so that, as may readily be imagined, this monopoly soon became one of the most prized possessions of manorial lords. In Liverpool the king was Lord of the Manor, and as it was possible to sublet the rights of the milling-soke, as it was called, various local families of importance had leased these rights from time to time. At this date they appear to have been enjoyed in common by Edward Moore, the Crosses of Crosshall, and possibly a Mr. Bixteth, though it is not clear whether Mr. Bixteth actually worked the Eastham Mill at this time or not. Moore, therefore, not being sole Lord of the Manor, had no power to insist that all his tenants should grind at his mill. Apart from any definite agreement they might with perfect right grind at Mr. Crosse's mill or at Mr. Bixteth's, if this still existed; all that Moore and his fellow-lessees could enforce was that no Liverpool tenant should grind at mills outside the borough, and as these three held the monopoly, the trade was bound to come to one or other of them. As Moore was not able to enforce the soke by virtue of manorial rights, he seems to have inserted in every lease he made with his tenants, the clause that they should grind at his mill only, subject to a heavy penalty in case they did not keep the agreement. Though this was not as effectual as the power of a manorial lord, it must have had a considerable influence in diverting corn and malt to be ground, in the direction either of his horse or wind-mill, and so his income from these sources must have been a constantly growing one. He speaks in one place of making the horse-mill worth "hundreds a year," and says that under certain circumstances it should bring in £5 a week;

hence it will be readily seen what important items in the value of the estate these mills were, and for the purposes which we are now considering we may be safely within the mark if we estimate the yield of Moore's two mills at £60 a year.

Then there were the fines payable on a new lease being made or a fresh life being inserted in a lease already running. With over a hundred tenants, we may assume that something like an average of three leases would run out each year, and taking an average fine for a new lease at about eighty pounds, from this source alone Moore would receive two hundred and forty pounds a year; and to this we may safely add another fifty for the replacing of lives that had fallen out prematurely.

Adding all these estimates together we get a grand total of five hundred and thirty pounds as the income which Moore probably enjoyed from his Liverpool estate, but the data on which we have to go are so vague that the amount may have been considerably more. It must be borne in mind that besides his Liverpool property Moore owned a great deal of land in Kirkdale, Bootle, West Derby, Fazakerly, Walton, Linacre, Litherland, Orrell, Little Crosby, Preston, Ellet, Much-Carleton, Chester, Wallasey, and other places, so that his total income from all sources cannot have fallen far short of £1000, which in modern money would probably mean an annual income of £6000 a year.

It would be interesting, if it were possible, to compare the value of the same land to-day, but we must content ourselves with estimating it in that vague but satisfactory term "millions." When we remember that Moore held the greater portion of the land bounded by Water Street, Castle Street,

James Street, and the river, and yet this formed only a comparatively small part of his Liverpool estate, we may gain some idea of what the rent-roll would be to-day if his descendants still held the land.

And so we may conclude. Moore's evil aldermen have gone, and many a generation since. Even the very houses that Moore's tenants were building with such care and foresight have passed, and the broad acres which he held are now crowded in from the sight of the sky by miles of streets and smoke-grimed buildings. The very names are forgotten amongst us, except one peers back into the past and spells them over once more. But as the great life of the city goes thundering forward men have no time for such dreaming, and it is with diffidence that an antiquary asks a few moments' patience while he tells a chapter in the town's history that is all but forgotten.

LIVERPOOL

IN CHARLES THE SECOND'S TIME

O LORD my God, I do humbly implore thy assistance and protection
of me; this book and all thou hast bestowed upon me; to
preserve us out of the hands of our enemies, to
thy honour, the great good of our family, and
the preservation of our poor souls.

Amen: Amen:

Amen.

EDW. MOORE.

Bankhall,
St. Matthew's Day, 24th Feb. 1667.

Before honour is humility.—Prov. xv. 33.

Let your love be without dissimulation.—Rom. xii. 9.

Whoso rewards evil for good, evil shall not depart from his house.—
Prov. xvii. 13.

Recompense to none evil for evil. Provide things honest in the
sight of the Lord.—Rom. xii. 17.

Vengeance is mine; I will repay it, saith the Lord.—Rom. xii. 19.

For the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are
open to their prayers; but the face of the Lord is against them
that do evil.—1 Peter iii. 12.

REMEMBER: The beginning of strife is as when one letteth out
water: therefore leave off contention, before it be meddled
with.—Prov. xvii. 14.

A

If it be possible, so much as in you lies, live peaceably with all men.—Rom. xii. 18.

Lord Jesus, grant that I and mine may observe the several divine rules above said.

EDW. MOORE.

And whoever thou art, that opens this Book, know that it is by Christ Jesus' permission; or else thou couldst have no power here: therefore as thou art a Christian, and wilt answer me in another world, do this my endeavour no harm; neither wrong me nor my children by the knowledge of it; for the time will come (and that very shortly) that I shall see thee face to face, to give an account of it.

I was; thou art; take it from me: what I am now, thou suddenly shalt be.

Experience having taught me that everything corrupts:

Yea, that very eye which now reads these truths shall not be excepted.

EDW. MOORE.

Here followeth several observations to my son and heir, WILLIAM MOORE:¹ Lord Jesu, bless him and grant him grace to observe them, to God's honour and the comfort of his poor soul. Amen: Amen: Amen.

Ut hic hostis evanescat,
Ut infirmus convalescat,
Tu virtutem jejunandi,¹
Des infirmo, des orandi.

EDW. MOORE.

My son William, before thou presume to read them, humbly implore Christ Jesus' assistance for the true performance of them, in

¹ Edward Moore's son and heir, born about 1657, died from smallpox, 17th June 1672.

² This word is not *vigilandi*, as Mr. Heywood has read it. The original is not very clearly written, but there can be no reasonable doubt about it.

giving all honour and glory to God Almighty, good will to thy neighbour, and humility to thyself, which is the daily prayer of thy careful father.

EDW. MOORE, 16th August, 1663.¹

First, to know your duty to God, read his Book with reverence; and in all things doubtful take fixation from the learned interpretation of the Christian churches in all ages, rather than rely on your own judgment: for Novatian, Donatus, and Arius, with many other known heretics, for learning were a thousand times before thee, yet, relying on their own wits, ran into many damnable and gross heresies.

If you ask me what Christian churches I mean, I shall refer you to Vincentius Lirinensis, in his treatise of the antiquity of the Catholic faith;² Mr. Baxter's *Successive Visibility of the Church*, and his *Key for Catholics*;³ the first will let you know what the Catholic faith is, the second will prove the Protestant of that faith, the third lays open the fopperies of all such as hold a contrary opinion. But remember, when once you enter upon a book, let nothing hinder till you read it all. Read likewise my uncle Chisnell's *Catholic History*,⁴ where many pretty things of religion are neatly and concisely digested. Give not yourself to read books of controversies; it is a study you shall never

¹ This admonition is apparently copied in from another note-book and the original date retained.

² See a note on Vincentius Lirinensis (Vincentius of Lerins), who died before A.D. 450, in Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.*, edited by Stubbs, vol. i. pp. 345, 346, edit. 1863. The *Commonitory*, the only work remaining of Vincent, was translated, and published in 1651. The Latin text was republished at Oxford in 1836; and the 1651 translation was revised and published at Oxford in 1837. The work was much valued by the Protestants as decisive against the claim of being a universal church made by the Roman Catholics.

³ "The Key for Catholics, opening the jugling of the Jesuits," 1659; and, in the same year, Baxter also published "The Successive Visibility of the Church, of which the Protestants are the soundest members," against Mr. William Johnson. (*Calamy's Life*, vol. i. p. 414.)

⁴ Chisenhall of Chisenhall, near Wigan, a Lancashire Esquire, who distinguished himself as a captain at the siege of Lathom House, and afterwards wrote a book against the Roman Catholics. It is noticed in the *Civil War Tracts* (Chetham Society). Edward Moore's aunt married Edward Chisenhall of Chisenhall. She was a daughter of Alexander Rigby of Burgh, and a sister of Edward Moore's mother.

be satisfied in, many learned men making the strains of their own wit matters of religion, each writing according to his interest, by which they make it a nose of wax to serve their own ends; the whole world, in truth, being but a great cheat. Therefore let the Holy Scriptures be your guide, wherein all things necessary for salvation are most plainly set forth, so that, with God's blessing, he that runs may read. And for deep and dark sayings therein, which nothing tend to matters of faith, or where you find the Scriptures silent, or very dubious in obscure terms,—there be not you too inquisitive, lest you be answered as St. Austen answered a busy fellow who desired to know (since it was but so few years that the world was created) what might God Almighty be doing before? To which the holy man replied, He was making hell for such busy inquisitors as he was.

The reason of my desire for your not reading many books of controversy, I having been in that labyrinth, but, blessed be God, with much care, trouble, and pains, am come safe out, which may be as so many landmarks to your avoiding that danger. It is true, upon some accounts, I took the liberty, as it were, to divest myself of that religion I was born and educated in, for to search without partiality whether the papist, or it, were most orthodox; in progress of which I did not only converse with many learned men on both sides, viz. John Hount, a famous Franciscan priest, Phill. Grey, Will. Norrise, John Evers, and Mr. Kerton a Jesuit, but read several great volumes, more tedious than I hope your wisdom will permit. And in the end I find the Reformed Catholic, of England, is the truest and most Christian religion, the nearest agreeing to the three first centuries, having nothing of design but mere and nakedly serving of the true God in a right way. And on the other hand, I find the papist religion (I mean of most of the controverted points) to be patched and made up for the benefit, honour, and livelihood of their clergy; which makes it earthly and saturnine, participating of the drosses of merit, images, indulgences, and helping souls out of purgatory (provided the body, before its departure, bequeathed to such a priest, or such an order, such a legacy as will defray their lost labour and time spent in such a fruitless work,—else, no penny, no paternoster;) which practices convince her of so much worldly respects, as she stands condemned by all but such as are

betrayed to her devotion through ignorance, profit, or honour, on the one hand, or chained to her obedience by the iron Inquisition on the other hand.¹

If you would see this verified, read John Wickliffe, John Jewell, Doctor Rennalls [Reynolds], Humfryes, and Whitaker, five of the greatest divines of England:—vide Bishop Laud's conference with Fisher the Jesuit, a most excellent book, and Mr. Baxter's books aforesaid, and Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.

I would have you by all means bred a scholar; then to the University, where great care is to be for an honest, able, and godly tutor to instruct you aright in your religion, and so to establish you therein that the world, flesh, and the devil shall not be able to remove you; then go on courageously through the pilgrimage of this life, there being a blessing annexed by the express words of our Saviour, Matt. vi. 33: Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.

When you go to the University, let it be Oxford rather than Cambridge, for two reasons; first, because Oxford is, by reason of the situation, far the better air, and in Brazennose² College there are many peculiar privileges in favour of Lancashire men, which may be very advantageous for younger brothers, or such as must depend on their fortunes. I would not have you entered a fellow commoner, that being too high, and usually such as are so entered make little advantage there other than spend their moneys and come home less wise than they went.

¹ Moore's wife, Dorothy Fenwick, appears to have been a Roman Catholic, though not a pronounced one. In some of Moore's letters he refers to the charge which seems to have been brought against him that he was himself a Papist, and denies it indignantly.

² Brazenose College was founded about 1509 by William Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln, a native of Farnworth, in Prescott parish, and Sir Richard Sutton, of Sutton, near Macclesfield. In the rules which they drew up, it was ordained that the Principal and the twelve Fellows should all be natives of the diocese of Lichfield (in which diocese at this time were included Lancashire and Cheshire), with special preference for the natives of Prescott in Lancashire and Prestbury in Cheshire. Many leading Lancashire and Cheshire men have been among the alumni of this College. Edward Moore's brother Thomas was at Brazenose at this very time. Two letters from his tutor, James Hamer, dated 12th November and 3rd December 1668, are still among Captain Stewart's papers.

But I would have you entered a battler, which is the mean betwixt a fellow commoner and a servitor. In this place being entered a battler, thirty pounds sterling per annum will very well maintain you, as I shall hereafter give a particular of each charge to a penny : viz. four pounds for caution money to the College, for which the principal will give you a note under his hand to repay when you go from the College; five shillings for your entrance, paid to the vice-principal; six shillings and eightpence for entrance in the bursar's book; and two shillings and sixpence to the servants; and seven shillings for matriculation in the university, if he be the eldest son of an esquire, not else; this must be paid at your first coming. Then you must have a gown, of which you had best buy some old one—will serve as well, if not better than a new one. Be sure you let his tutor¹ know you will not allow him to battle above £3 a quarter. To the laundress, three shillings a quarter; to the bed maker one shilling and sixpence a quarter; chamber rent five shillings a quarter; barber one shilling and sixpence a quarter; tuition, for your tutor, as you are but a battler, is fifteen shillings a quarter; shoe maker three shillings and sixpence a quarter; hire of your bed two shillings and sixpence a quarter; I mean sheets and all. In all, this makes four pounds twelve shillings a quarter, besides his clothes and his books. For cloth for your clothes, the best way is to buy them in the country. Remember that your cloth or stuff must either be black, or of a sad dark colour, no others being there worn, except by noble-men's sons. Remember you pay at every quarter's end, and then not without his tutor's letter, and an exact [account] of what that quarter came to; by which you may see how it rises or falls, and whether your son be a good husband or not. Let the tutor have a most strict hand over him;—to be careful of your company, for many times young men are utterly undone by their company.

¹ All these instructions were evidently written in a letter to Moore by some friend, possibly his brother Thomas's tutor. Moore appears to have copied them exactly, even occasionally forgetting to change the pronoun from *his* to *your*.

ANNO DOMINI 1667.

A TRUE, just, and exact Rental, which I, Edw. Moore, shall attest to be true, of all such yearly old Rent, (or Rent of assize, as we call it in Lancashire,) with chief and fee-farm Rents, as are due and payable in the present year, at Our Lady Day, and Michaelmas, 1667, unto me, Edw. Moore, son and heir of Colonel John Moore, deceased, late vice-admiral of the Irish sea;¹ payable out of all the towns and places hereafter following: together with the fines (as near as I can judge) those several tenements are worth, if clear out of lease; what improvements may be made in several places, to the great advantage of your estate; what lives are at present in each tenement; what rent together with hens, geese, with other boons, suit, or services, are paid or done; with several remarkable observations, by experience I have found, much to the ease or advantage of you, my son, William Moore, to whom, with God's permission, I intend this following particular, humbly imploring God Almighty's assistance that you may make an honest livelihood thereon; to God's honour, the good of your neighbours and tenants, and the comfort of your own soul. Amen: Lord Jesus. Amen: Amen: Amen.

IMPRIMIS, I will begin with LEVERPOOLL.

In this town was your ancient house, formerly called More Hall, together with the street it stood in. Of this mansion I find your ancestors possessed time out of mind,

¹ Colonel John Moore held this office under the Parliament.

most of all your deeds for your land and houses there being without date. Only one I find of John de la More, son of John de Mora, dated anno Domini 1200, and one other deed from John of Gaunt to Thomas de la More, with many great and large privileges belonging; the most of which are now claimed by the family of the Lord Mullinex of Sefton, by a pretended purchase from the Londoners, they having it amongst other things pawned by King James. Likewise your ancestors formerly had the ferry boats, butlerage, and other perquisites which now the Mullinexes have by lease from the crown, (for two lives, this Lord and his son). There be, besides all this, many ancient and honourable grants from others of the kings of England and dukes of Lancaster to your ancestors, concerning things in this town, only as to privileges; for as to the deeds of your lands here, they are all, or most, as I said before, without date. To which I refer you particularly to view, and only take what follows by way of Rental, as promised, above said.

Old Halle Street.¹

ANDOW, THOMAS,²

Now tenant for the Old Hall, never leased this many hundred years before, but always kept for a jointure house,

¹ Oldhall Street was in the fourteenth century called Whiteacre Street, from the fact that it led to the fields known as the Whiteacres, on the river bank; later than this it was called Mill Street, because out of it ran the Mill Lane, leading to a mill, which stood about the site of the present Pownall Square.

² Thomas Ayndow or Andow was made Common Councilman 21st June 1642. He was very active on the Parliamentary side during the siege, and became mayor of the town in 1655. At the Restoration, Andow at first declined to serve on the Council, as this necessitated the taking of stringent oaths of allegiance, and was fined, but he finally gave way and took the oath. He was acting as Deputy Mayor to Charles, Earl of Derby, during the year before that in which Moore wrote this Rental (1667), and was at the same time made an overseer of the wards of the town.



Bank Hall. From the Original Drawing by W. Blackmore. 1751.

I mean since Bank Hall was built.¹ The great debt my father left me in, being near ten thousand pounds, (as I shall in some place of this book give you an exact particular of,) forced me to raise some money by leasing it. Therefore I shall set no value on this, hoping in God, whenever it falls out of lease, you will never have the same cause of extremity to lease it again as I had. Only this you may remember, that the Parlour-hey² will score eight beasts at near forty shillings a cow-gate,³ and the Barn-hey and the house worth twenty pounds per annum. If ever this falls in, and trading as good as now, you may very well make a street; the front of the houses on the west side, standing towards the lane [which]

He finally fell into disgrace by refusing to take the oath of allegiance attached to the new Charter in 1677, and was consequently "discharged from the office of Councilman." He was buried in the Church of St. Nicholas, 22nd August 1684.

¹ The Old Hall, formerly Moor Hall, was, as Moore here states, a very ancient seat of the family, and probably took its name from the moor which at a very early date must have stretched away northward from the confines of the town. In the earliest English documents among the Moore papers the name of the family is always John or Thomas *of the Moor*. The site of the house is now covered by offices and warehouses—the suite of offices called The Old Hall very nearly marking the exact spot.

The line of fortification at the time of the siege seems to have been very close to the north side of the Hall, and it was just at this spot that Prince Rupert's daring attack in the early morning at Whitsuntide 1644 was successful.

² The Parlour Hey lay on the west of Oldhall Street, sloping down towards the river bank, and was bounded, roughly speaking, by what is now Union Street on the south and Brook Street on the north. The Barn Hey lay on the east side of the present Oldhall Street. It must be borne in mind that at this time Oldhall Street consisted only of that portion of the street which led from Chapel Street to the Old Hall itself; beyond this point it was known as "the Lane leading into the Town-fields," and this part, as Moore himself explains a little later on (p. 17), only dated from a compromise effected with the town in Henry VIII.'s time, by which Barn Hey and Parlour Hey were intersected by this lane for the convenience of the townsmen wishing to go to the Common Fields. (See Appendix, p. 176.)

The street which Moore repeatedly advises his son to cut through the Parlour Hey, was actually constructed by Sir Cleave Moore, in Union Street, though Queen Street also fulfilled the same requirements.

³ A cowgate was the right of feeding one beast in a meadow—literally, a *cow walk*.

goes into the town field; and the front of the houses in the Barn-hey to face the other. Then you may allow to each house, on both sides, large back sides, keeping a good part for a garden and outbuilding, together with other necessities to the Old Hall; or, if you please, take good advice whether it be not better to cut a street through the Parlour-hey to the river, which might be no steeper than the Chapel street, taking it by degrees away. Make your leases according to my new leases in Moore street—without boons, otherwise they will not build. Be careful of the clause to grind at your mill; it is a great thing to your estate, and see your tenants observe it well. Take this notice from me: what you expect your tenants should do, let them be well bound to in their leases; otherwise riches and pride is so predominant over them in this town, together with a perfect antipathy they have against all gentlemen—much more your family, in regard they know your interest is always able to curb them,—I know this by experience, that they are the most perfidious knaves to their landlords in all England; therefore I charge you, in the name of God, never to trust them. They have deceived me twice, even to the ruin of my name and family, had not God in mercy saved me; though there was none at the same time could profess more kindness to me than they did, and acknowledge in their very own memories what great patrons my father and grandfather were to the town and them in particular. Yet when it came to that, as with but their vote would have done me five thousand pounds' worth of good, and them no harm, they most inhumanly denied me, and that two several times a year's distance betwixt them, when inevitably their voting against

me might have been the utter extirpation of me and mine out of Lancashire; and I believe, had they thought it would not have taken that effect, they would then have been for me.

Therefore, since God hath by me forewarned you, have a care you never trust them; for there is no such thing as truth or honesty in such mercenary fellows, but what tends to their own ends. And this observe as a general rule, civility will do no good, but make them condemn you for a kind fool. And likewise observe for a certain rule, although you be never so great enemies, yet, if you be but a justice, and have power in the country, or once mayor of the town, they will lie like spaniels at your feet. Thus the old proverb is verified: a little fear is worth a great deal of love. In a word, trust them not, lest you may find by sad experience what I have here forewarned you of, which God in mercy divert; for such a nest of rogues was never educated in one town of that bigness. I shall endeavour to give you hereafter a character of each particular man—at present you have to deal withal that is my tenant. Here are several other directions of things in this town, but take them in course; and first as to this Mr. Andow. In the name of God be careful of him, for he is one of the lurchingest knaves in all the town; he is worse than my pen can express; and when he makes the greatest show of friendship then he hath the most deceit at hand. This was one of the leading men, underhand, against me, in all votes, either for parliament man or mayor; this is the man that caused my mill horses to be arrested for a ley,¹ laid by the mayor and

¹ *Ley*, a tax or assessment; in this instance, levied on the burgesses for the repair of St. Nicholas's Chapel.

others, for the chapel, whereupon I replevied¹ them, and would stand suit: by which I find that you are not obliged, in the canon laws, to repair the chapel, without it were either the parish church, or you were an inhabitant in the town; but if they ley you in the general amongst the foreign freemen, provided it be in reason, equally as others, then if you be a freeman of the town, you are bound by your oath to contribute proportionably. But besides, remember, for your chapel, (the seat you sit in is so called,)² and for the servants' seat, you must repair the glass windows, the forms, and flags, with all things else belonging to them, of your own charges. And remember, all the compass within them is your ancient burial place, and so hath been for many hundred years, there never being any but your kindred of blood and name there interred. And remember you never pay penny to the churchwardens for breaking ground within either of those seats; neither permit any but your family to be buried there; nor suffer any to sit there but such as is by your permission, for in my time, my grandmother,³ my sister Jane, my brother Alexander, and my uncle Robert Moore's wife, and Edw. Moore, and another of my sons who died before he was christened, were buried there, and

¹ *Replevied*—to replevy is to redeem goods detained by any official, by putting in legal sureties.

² It is difficult to decide the exact position of the Moore pew or chapel, but it was probably at the east end of one of the aisles. In Harl. MS. 2129 is an account of the armorial glass in St. Nicholas's in 1590 (edited by J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A., vol. xxxiii. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Chesh.). In this a window containing glass representing the Moore arms is described.

³ Moore's grandmother was Katherine, daughter of John Hockenhull of Prenton, in Woodchurch parish. She was alive in 1638, but probably died in 1641. His "uncle Robert Moore's wife" had only died a few months before the penning of the Rental; she was buried at St. Nicholas's, 4th February 1667-68. His son Edward was buried 26th February 1662-63.

I hope in God I shall lie there in rest amongst my ancestors. I charge you great care of this burial place, it being none of the least mercies God bestows when he permits you in peace to be interred in the sepulchre of your ancestors. And truly, so long as God is pleased to bestow this burial place upon me I value it at the price of the best lordship I have; since, if I enjoyed all, at last nothing will remain to me but a small room to enclose my aged limbs, where I hope to remain in rest from all the troubles and cares of this world, it being an infringement to the privileges of nature to hinder the repose of the dead. This being a convenient place to give a farther instruction concerning the chapel, both where I sit myself, and servants, to hear divine service in Liverpool church, know that you must maintain it with glass, flags, doors, seats, and all other materials whatsoever; otherwise the bishop and the ordinary may remove you, or order others to sit with you, it being not sufficient for you to prescribe to it, though [it is] five hundred years that none have there sat to hear divine service, or buried there, but your ancestors, if you do not repair it. But those prescriptions, with repairing it, make it absolutely yours in despite of the ordinary. Vide a small book named Directions for the Study of the Law, (*Studii Legalis Ratio*, fo. 145); or vide Crook, p. 367.

Remember, if ever it lie in your power, to buy of his grandchild, young Mr. Sherwin, the estate he bought of my cousin Lea of Lime,¹ lying in this town. He gave but four hundred

¹ The Leighs of Lyme had had property for some time in Liverpool. One of them, Dr. Thomas Leigh, was rector of Walton at the beginning of the seventeenth century, dying in 1639. It is not clear how Moore was related to them. This reference to Mr. Sherwin's estate seems to have nothing to do with the preceding section.

pounds; but if you had it for a thousand, it were well bought. There are some directions of things in this town at the end of this Rental; read and observe them well.

In this house there is lives, two; Mrs. Katherine Sherwine, widow to Captain Sherwine, and her son Thomas; two hens at Easter, and two days' shearing. Rent, 13s. 4d.

LIVESLEY, RICH.

Hath a lease of the Kiln-hey;¹ but vide Livesley in the Chapel street.

HIGGISON, JOHN²

A good, honest man; use his children well. In this street he hath a barn and a shippon, which formerly were two houses, and whenever they come out of lease it were good they were so again, it being not your interest to turn dwelling houses into barns. Besides, I charge you, never let one tenant have above one house, for that very thing hath much lessened my interest; for if once they be your tenants for one house, they will do as much for you as if they had twenty. But I charge you keep this maxim, that none may know it but God and yourself. Besides, I find by experience, those that have so many houses never do half their boons,³ or pay all their hens, but are always grumbling; neither will one in twenty be able to give you near the fine proportionable for many houses as they will do for one, and I hope twenty tenants makes you more popular than one. There is, in this lease, seven lands in the town field, and two good

¹ See note 2, p. 16.

² There was a John Higgison or Higginson a bailiff in 1650.

³ For explanation of boon service and payment of hens, see Introduction, p. xlix.

back sides; lease them to two several men, and they will easily give you a hundred and thirty pounds fine. For the lands in the field, vide Liverpool directions at the end of this Rental.

In this is lives, two; Geo. Higgison and John, his two sons; hens, five, at Christmas; five days' shearing; his old rent, £1, os. 8d. (Here is room to build a good house before the shippon, to the street.)

LORTING, JOHN,¹

A sour dog fellow, yet one who loves me and my family; use him and his well: only this remember, he hath no children of his own, so at his death the house comes clear. He hath in this lease what may well be made three several dwellings; and fail not to part them whenever you fine them; for if you lease them to several, they will, with the ten lands in the field, give you at least a hundred and fifty pounds, though his fine was but fifty pounds and to build one of these houses, which cost him fifty pounds more. I was at that time in great want of money; the Lord God grant that I nor mine may never be in the like want again. Lives, three,—himself, Joan his wife, Elizabeth Sodon, spinster, daughter of the said Joan; three hens at Easter; old rent, £1, 6s. 8d.

SANDIFORD, —

Hath of late built a barn at the end of John Lorting's; upon which stood formerly a barn, late Rose's, out of which I should have yearly — shillings, as may appear by Rose's

¹ The Lurtings were an old Liverpool family, the name occurring in many early deeds. A John Lorting was bailiff in 1653.

answer upon oath; but I claim the inheritance of the soil, and so refuse the rent. This was purchased from Mr. Will. Moore¹ of Manchester: in the same deed my man Jonathan's house and the Pole house are: vide the deed, and Rose's answer.

LEVESLEY, RICH.,

Hath the Kiln-hey²—I mean his children, for he is dead; the front of which field is for many rods to the street, so that I am confident, allowing back sides, you may have it all built with good houses, and keep convenient room sufficient for out-houses and other necessities for the Old Hall, which out-houses were pulled down when Prince Rupert took Liverpool, Whitsuntide, 1644,³ putting all to the sword for many hours, giving no quarter; where Caryl, that is now Lord Mullinex, killed seven or eight poor men with his own hands: good Lord, deliver us from the cruelty of bloodthirsty papists. Amen.

Note.—The street itself, from the Old Hall into the fields, which goes between the Parlour-hey and the Barn-hey, is your

¹ This barn was bought, together with Jonathan Hunter's house in Water Street and the Pool-House, from Mr. William Moore of Manchester, and it is probable that the three tenements had passed together to Mr. William Moore, and as the other two appear to have been the property of the monks of Birkenhead, it is not unlikely that this had also been theirs.

² Kiln Hey fronted Old Hall Street between Mill Lane (now Edmund Street) and probably, what is now, Ormond Street. It extended back as far as Pit Hey, which seems to have been bounded on its western side by Bixteth Street, now one of the boundaries of the Exchange Station.

³ Early on the morning of 11th June 1644 (Picton says June 16th), Prince Rupert's soldiers scaled the fortifications on the north side of the town, near the corner of what is now Oldhall Street and Queen Street. They were enabled to do this as, owing to some traitorous design or careless accident, the troops responsible for this part of the defence had been temporarily withdrawn. A full account of this incident is to be found among the Moore Manuscripts.

own land, for these two fields were, till Henry VIII.'s time, all one; and then one of your ancestors permitted that way; but with a covenant that, if ever any of his heirs should dislike it, then to stop it up; vide the deed itself concerning ———.¹

Note.—In this street, if you build all along the front of the Kiln-hey and so on the fronts of the Barn-hey and Parlour-hey, which you may make to the street till you come into the town field, there will be room for at least thirty houses, and allow each of them good back sides. Remember you reserve all necessities for your mansion-house, the Old Hall, formerly called More Hall.

Chapell Stret.

HORTON, WIDOW,

Now wife of Mr. Ward. Whenever this falls out of lease, you may make your best advantage of it; Mr. Horton, who built the house, never had any children, neither doth any of his relations live in these parts;—it will give one hundred and fifty pounds fine for three lives. Remember to build a wall all along the bank side till you come to the town field; otherwise, in time, I am afraid, the sea will wear away the whole bank. For my great-grandfather, William Moore, made a lease of the bank to one Gogney for ten pounds fine and five shillings per annum rent; my grandfather, Edw. Moore, set it to one Pemberton for thirty shillings a year; and now it is so much worn away with the

¹ The document to which Moore here refers will be found printed *in extenso* in the Appendix, p. 176.

sea that I cannot make five shillings a year of it. When you make a wall, it need not be above two yards high and two feet thick; then fill the earth to the back of it:—this wall will cost about ninety pounds at the most. If it be possible, get warehouses or dwelling-houses built all along the wall, and make a street to go up in the very middle of it through to the north of the Old Hall. This is a project, if God bless the town, may be possible.¹

¹ Widow Horton's house appears to have stood at the foot of Chapel Street, on the north side, and thus to have been the dwelling-house next to the river, which at this time came up as far as the wall of the chapel yard. The scheme which Moore here propounds he attempted to execute a few years later, as will be seen by the following extracts from the Port Moot Records:—

"1672, June 5th.—It is this day ordered, &c., that Edward Moore, Esq., and his servants and workmen, shall be forthwith interrupted in the building of the stone Wall already begun at the sea side, upon the Waste of Liverpoole (west of the fields in the holding of Thomas Andoe, Alderman, and another field, called Lancelot's field), in such manner as the said Mr. Maior shall think fit," &c.

The dispute dragged on for some years, as the following entries show:—

"1673, Sept. 3.—It is ordered that it be referred to Mr. Maior and Mr. Robt. Roper to treat with Edward Moore, Esq., touching the Sea Bank," &c.

"1676, Sept. 18.—This order continued as to reference to Mr. Roper on the town's behalf, both as to Seabank and all other matters in difference or variance between this towne and the s^d Edward Moore, now Sir Edward Moore," &c.

Close to this house, on the western side, standing apparently on the foreshore, was a salt-house which had been used in the Civil Wars—an outwork called the Mardyke Fort—and, from the following extract from the Port Moot Records, it appears probable that some compromise was made between Moore and the Town, and, as well as acquiring the Mardyke Fort, the town became possessed of Moore's new sea-wall, which was called the New Quay, a name which remains with us to-day.

"1676, Nov. 1.—Ordered that entries be made forthwith into and upon the house called the 'Mardyke,' at the West end of Chappell Street—the new Wall or Key thereto adjoyninge, and the Lyme Kilne thereto adjoyninge," &c.

Among the Moore papers are some undated notes of Sir Edward's about the Mardyke. He writes: "Mardike or the ould Salte House or Store House at the Chappell Street end nere ye sea in Liverpoole, now in Josuah Williamson's possession, to belonge to the Mors of Bankhall," and then follow a list of those who could speak to this, and their ages.

See also Note 1, p. 21.

Note: that from the Chapel street to the town field the whole breadth thereof, down to low water mark, is your inheritance, by special grant from K. Charles II., under the broad seal of England, to Edw. Lord Brabazon, earl of Meath, feoffee in trust for your mother.¹ Therefore let none get stones there without your consent, for two reasons; the first, for that it is the great cause of washing the bank away; and the other reason is, whenever please God you do make a wall, it will be necessary either to build it of that stone, or at least to back it with that stone. This house of Mrs. Horton's is in lease for her own life and twenty-one years after. May be you may make two hundred pounds fine, if you be discreet, in regard there is no ancient tenant to it.

She pays six gallons of white wine a year, or twenty shillings in lieu thereof. Rent, £1.

LANCLET, THOMAS.

A drunken, idle fellow: to this house he hath a fine large croft² on the back side. If I could have bought him out of it, there was one would have laid out four hundred pounds on a dwelling house and other necessities,—for in all Liverpool, so near the water side, there is none hath so much room on the back side. Remember, there is room to build several houses between this house and the street, down to Mrs. Horton's house; these may be distinct houses of themselves. I have, under his hand and seal, liberty to build now

¹ See p. xxiv of Introduction.

² This croft or hey was known as Lancelot's Hey, so that when subsequently a street was carried through it, the old name was retained in its entirety, and still survives. Thomas Lancelot describes himself in a Petition in the Court of Chancery (Palatine), date about 1669 (see Note 1, p. 47), as ship carpenter.

if I please (vide his contract with me); but if it be not built before it come out of lease, be very careful how you lease it again, but divide it as I say. This fellow and his wife are two such idle people that they scarce ever pay me either rent or hens. Here belong to this house fish yards and a free fishing, which our ancestors have had above four hundred years, as you may see by the original grant. If any wise body had these fish yards, might much advantage be made of them; they used to maintain your ancestors' family with fish three days a week, when they were above thirty in family, and lived at the Old Hall. Remember you have liberty to admit others to set fish yards, notwithstanding this lease to him, provided you do not take the very places where his now stand (vide his lease). This house will give you thirty pounds fine, and only allow a little garden to it on the back side, and £1 rent; besides, you may build three houses fronting to the street, at ten shillings old rent apiece and three rent hens apiece: and you may build on the water side, and lay the remainder of the croft to make them back sides. But remember you prejudice not the intended street from the water side through the Parlour-hey (vide Mr. Andow's directions). Be very careful how you lease this place; here many conveniences belong to it. If you could buy the Walnut-tree hey,¹ which at present Mr. Andow hath as tenant to Mr. Fazakerley, it might, peradventure, help you in back sides for your street from the water side. Upon this place you have thirty pounds fine for the old house, with a little garden, and old rent, and three houses more ten shillings apiece rent, (and for these fines let them build,) and

¹ Through this field Fazakerley Street was made a few years subsequent to this. It was at first called Rosemary Lane.

nine hens. At present this fellow pays only thirty pounds fine, and all other boons as the old tenants do, three days' shearing, and three rent hens; and old rent, £1.

SEA BANK,¹

From Mrs. Horton's to the town-field, is all yours, and so the whole breadth thereof to low-water mark; therefore let none get stones, in regard it will cause the sea to wash all the brow away; for in my time, I being an infant and having nobody to look to it, and being left in great debts, so that each was ready to trample upon me, many did much abuse me, and in particular in the getting stone there, by which that bank, which formerly was set for a good fine, (vide Mrs. Horton's and Tho. Lanclet's directions concerning this)—nay, in my time, was worth one pound per annum, now is worth nothing; and if you do not prevent getting stone, or cause a wall to be made, (vide Horton's and Lanclet's directions,) you will have all the croft now belonging to Tho. Lanclet washed clear away: and I pray God the Parlour-hey will not likewise be washed away, for much of the bank over against it, of my knowledge, is. King Charles the Second's grant to the Earl of Meath

¹ See Note 1, p. 18. Among the Moore papers are some notes of Edward Moore's concerning this field. He writes: "SEA BANCKE, is a Parsell of lande extending from ye Chapell Street End to ye Towne field of Liverpool lieing all along ye enclosed grounds of S^r Edw. Moore called Halle Heay or Parlor Heay and Pemberton's Croft upon ye Sea-shore." He then abstracts the various leases: William Pricket (1496), Thomas Walker (1513), Allen Gogney for sixty years at 28s. per annum in 1580, and adds: "Liveinge Witnesse proves a Bond-Hedge at ye Bottom of ye Sea Banke maid to kepe ye Banke from washing away, and ye Erbidge [herbage] was allwise ye Mores and their Tenants. As also ye Clay of the Banke and ye quarry of stones at ye bottom of ye Banke together wth ye whole Sea-Banke from ye Chapell S^r end to ye Towne field," &c., and then follows a list of these "liveing witnesses."

gives you the soil, where all these stones are got, to low-water mark, so that you may hinder any from getting stone there. Besides, you will want stone when you come to build a wall from Mrs. Horton's house end all along the sea bank, so far as your land goes, till you come to the town field. When you build this wall, about eighty pounds will do it two yards high, the outside of ashlar, and the inside of broken stone. Remember, that if the town prosper, you may either build houses or warehouses all along this wall; and remember, if ever you should make a street through the Parlour-hey up to the Old Hall, (as you may see, vide my directions of the Old Hall,) then it must be cut from the water side through this bank into the Parlour-hey, then into the Old Hall Street. Vide more of this in the directions of the Old Hall.

OWEN, MRS.¹

An old house. It was formerly a barn. She sets it now for three pounds ten shillings a year. When it falls out of lease, part it from her tenement, and set it upon the rack² till you can light on some one who will build a good handsome stone house, three heights at least, thereon; and then, remember they come out with their building as far as the border stone unto the street, as all others do, according to the custom of the town. So may there be a stately house. Reserve twenty shillings rent, with three hens; but as now

¹ As will be seen from the reference to Thomas Ashbrooke's house and back side, Moore in his survey here crosses the street to the south side.

² A rack-rent was the full annual value of the property when taken on a yearly tenancy, as opposed to the small annual rent charged when the leasehold had been bought by the payment of a sum down (*vide* Introduction, section viii. p. xlv).

Mrs. Owen hath it in the lease of her other two houses, so that she pays not one penny for it, neither any services; only this remember, that those who live upon any part of my lands ought, and are bound by special covenant, to grind at some of my mills.¹ Never set more houses than one to one man, if you either intend to have your rent well paid, boons and services performed, or to have a good fine when it falls out of lease, (vide my directions for these things at the end, within the Rental for Liverpool). Remember, Thomas Assbrocke hath to the eastward an old thatched house, which hath a back side goes southward in length as far as mine adjoining to it, and that then there is another house belonging to the said Assbrocke, wherein Cromton now lives. If you could buy these two old houses, with their appurtenances, which, together with the help of the back side belonging to this house of mine, you might make a street out of the Water street² into the Chapel street, which would be a street very convenient, in regard of the great compass all people are now forced to go about. Remember, Mr. James Jerrem hath often offered me to pull down part of his barn and stable most willingly if I would make a street here. But remember, till you can compass this, you never part with this house and yard; so if ever a street should be made here in despite of them, one half on the one side must be all your own. God bless it. Amen.

¹ The clause inserted in each lease binding the tenant to have his grain ground at the landlord's mill was an important feature from a landlord's point of view, and constituted one of the greatest opportunities for fraud and oppression (*vide* Introduction, p. 1).

² The street which Moore here suggests is probably represented to-day by Covent Garden.

LIVESLEY, RICHARD,

Long since dead: a fine house, worth at least one hundred and twenty pounds fine, and two pounds rent yearly. This Baly March¹ is a most notorious knave, one of those who openly refused me in the election for parliament man. If ever it lie in your power, let the badge of a knave be upon him; when to save both my life and your estate would only have cost him no more than the breath of his mouth, by saying Aye, he denied me — God reward him. This Baly March, in right of his wife, as Rich. Livesley's widow, enjoys a field of the demesne belonging to the Old Hall, called the Pit-hey: I shall set no value upon it, in regard I hope you will never lease it again. Here is in it a place to make ropes, and a little house at the end of it for the same use, which very thing by itself will give you as much as formerly the whole field was worth. Remember, at the end of this field, lying to the Tithebarn street, here is for a great space lying to the said street, the whole breadth of the field, a vacant place whereupon formerly houses were, so you may have brave houses again thereon built, and allow to every one a large back side, and keep the spinning place and house for that use, with a good part of the said

¹ Baly or Bailiff Evan Marsh, so far from being "a most notorious knave," appears to have been a man of exceptionally high moral character. He was a strong Nonconformist, and may thus have excited Moore's animosity, but otherwise he appears to have been a peaceable, law-abiding citizen, and an honourable man. He refused to take the oath on February 21, 1661 (Town Records), and was committed to the prison in the Town Hall for a day and a night, after which he took the oath. On November 10, 1662, however, he and several others refused to subscribe the Declaration in an Act entitled, "An Act for the well governing and regulating of Corporations," and were therefore "removed and displaced of and from the office and place of Common Council Men" (Liverpool Records, vol. iii. p. 739). For the wording of the oath, see Note 3, p. 44. There is a curious irony in the fact that Evan Marsh was one of the four "honest and sufficient" men chosen to value Moore's goods for Probate in 1678.

field besides; for which new houses you may have for each at least one pound apiece old rent, and three rent hens, in regard the back sides will be worth so much at least.

KILN-HEY.

A field, called the Kiln-hey,¹ this Baly March hath likewise in the above-said lease, wherein there is now standing a building which was formerly the kiln to your mansion house, the Old Hall. I shall set no value upon this, but hope you will keep it out of lease, for that it was demesne land; only this take by way of caution, that a great part of this kiln-hey lies all along the Oldhall street; so that laying back sides to each house, which back sides must run up to the lane called the Mill lane, and to the Pit-hey before mentioned, this will be a brave place to build several good houses, and at least one pound apiece a year, with three rent hens. Remember before you build, see you build in no part of the Mill lane belonging to this field, in regard of a deed

¹ Though Kiln Hey is entered under Chapel Street, it lay, as has been said already (see Note 2, p. 16), fronting to Oldhall Street, and is only mentioned here as it was held under the same lease as Richard Livesey's house in Chapel Street. Its northern boundary was Mill Lane, now Edmund Street. Mill Lane was so called because it led to a mill which formerly stood near what is now the east side of Pownall Square. Though Mr. Bennett in his admirable and exhaustive paper on "The King's Mills of Ancient Liverpool" does not refer to this mill, there can be no doubt of its existence at an early date. Among the Moore papers is a charter, dated 1361, in which John le Corker, chaplain, grants to John, son of William de la More and Katharine his wife, &c., two burgages and a half lying in the Quitakrestrete [Oldhall Street], between the tenement of the heirs of Richard le Lister and the way which leads towards the Mill [*viam quæ ducit versus molendinum*]. In addition to this, Oldhall Street, from the fourteenth century to the sixteenth, was always called Mill or Milne Street, and the lane mentioned in the text above is alluded to in the document printed in Appendix, p. 176. Finally, in the map in Enfield's "Liverpool" a mill is shown on this spot, as well as in Perry's larger survey.

This Mill Lane must not be confused with Mile or Mile House Lane, which a century later was the name of a portion of the modern Great Howard Street.

of exchange from the town, which is, I know, now extant in the coffer in the Town Hall,¹ amongst the writings belonging to the town; wherein the town only makes an exchange of this lane for the way by the Old Hall into the town field, at that time the Parlour-hey and Barn-hey being all one, till upon this exchange my ancestor cut them asunder, to make the street, as it now lies, into the town field. Therefore, query, if you should build thereon, if they should give the street again, might they not force you by law to give them the lane? Unless you be resolved on this, be careful how you build—I mean only in that which is called the Mill lane, I do not mean in this Kiln-hey, for this Kiln-hey is your ancient inheritance for at least this six hundred years past.

In this lease, wherein the two before mentioned fields, called the Pit-hey, and the Kiln-hey, and Mill lane are, there are the lives of Elizb. Livesley and Ellen Livesley, daughters of the aforesaid Richard, deceased, and the life of Richard Livesley, son to the said Richard, deceased. These two fields are worth one hundred and fifty pounds fine; but I hope you will never lease them, unless as I have before directed; one day's shearing, three hens at Easter; old rent, 3s. 4d.

For the house before described, wherein the knave Baly March now lives, vide, and read it all over; worth at least one hundred and twenty pounds fine, two pounds per annum rent; and take the ten lands in the field from it. But if you should lease them, (for they were demesne lands belonging to the Old Hall,) then you deserve at least eight pounds for every land, I mean for three lives, that is, eighty pounds. But this I charge you, never lease them, or any other so

¹ For a copy of this deed, see Appendix, p. 176.

much, to one man; not above three lands to a man; by this means, for every three lands you may have a new house built upon any spot of land you will set out, and so have three houses instead of one. Observe well how you dispose of your lands in the field, for there is scarce a man in Liverpool that is not Mr. Crosse's tenant, but, upon consideration of leasing them but two lands, would be bound to grind at your mill; by which means you might make your horse mill there of great value. But vide the rule for the horse mill, in every lease you make for those which have no houses under you, but only lands in the field, and therefore live in other men's houses, and, under pretence of that, will not grind at your mill; so that you must advise with counsel for a particular clause or provision in your leases to bind or force such to grind with you, or else, I find it by experience, they will find some way to avoid you, and not grind with you. In this house and ten lands are the lives of Jonathan and John Livesley, sons of Richard Livesley, deceased. They pay for this house and the ten lands, three days' shearing, three hens at Easter, (this house and lands worth per annum fifteen pounds); old rent, £1 6s. 8d.

WHITLE, WILLIAM,

Built this house. He is a very honest man; use him and his children well. It is worth, if upon the rack rent, twelve pounds per annum—it is an excellent stone house with good cellars, and back side convenient. It is worth, whenever it comes out of lease, one hundred pounds fine for three lives, and to reserve two pounds rent yearly. Lives

in it at present are, Robert, son of the said William, and Ellen and Elizabeth Whitle, his daughters; two rent hens at Christmas, and for grinding at my mills, and other covenants, as the rest of my new tenants are, and pays present rent, 5s. Remember I built one gable end, cost seven pounds.

GLOVER, GEORGE,

Schoolmaster of Liverpool,¹ built this house. He is a very honest man, and hath a very good woman to his wife; use him or his very well, whenever it shall please God they have

¹ The Free School at Liverpool no longer exists. Blome describes the building, 1673: "A great piece of antiquity, formerly a chapel, now a free school, at the west end whereof, next the river, stood the statue of St. Nicholas, (long since defaced and gone,) to which the mariners offered when they went to sea."

The two following extracts from the Town Records refer to this tenant:—

"9th February 1649-50.—Propounded concerning a Schoolmaster, and M^r George Glover of Derby being nominated, is by this Assembly elected and chosen into the place of Schoolmaster for this Town, and to have the former allowance of xvij^{li} per annum wages, to be paid him by the Bailiffs quarterly. And is allowed to take payment for teaching of all foreigners children, not exceeding 2^s per quarter, and is to come in at Easter upon halfe a years liking performing all good orders formerly observed" (vol. iii. p. 461).

"1 March 1675-76.—M^r Glover, the parish Schoolmaster, to be suspended from 23 June next."

Bishop Gastrell (1718), in his *Notitia Cestriensis*, says: "Liverpool. Here is a Public School, the foundation of which is unknown. 5^{li} 13^s 6^d per annum was given it by Queen Elizabeth. The Corporation names the master, and allows him 35^{li} per annum more, obliging him to give 10^{li} per ann. out of it to an Usher." Canon Raines adds as a note: "After the Dissolution of the Chantries, a stipend of 5^{li} 13^s 4^d was appropriated to the Master of the Grammar School founded by John Crosse, who had given lands in Liverpool in 1515 to maintain a priest as Schoolmaster. The School was discontinued in 1803." From the Chantry returns we have the following: "Chantry of the Altar of St. Katharine. Of the foundation of John Crosse to celebrate there for his soule, and to doe one yearly obit, and to distribute att the same iij^s iiij^d to poore people, and alsoe to keepe a school of grammar free for all children bearing the name of Crosse and poore children, which is not observed accordingly, and the grant is for ever.

"Humfry Crosse is the incumbent, and hath for his salary the profits thereof, being vj^{li} ij^s x^d, being 50 years of age; and his liveinge besides is ij^{li}.

"The ornaments belonging to it valent iij^s, besides xij ounces of plate."

occasion to use you, that when knaves see virtue rewarded it may make them honest. It is worth, if out of lease, seven pounds per annum, and if to be fined for three lives, fifty pounds, and to reserve an old rent upon it of one pound; in doing this you will use his children very well. Lives at present are, Margaret his wife, and Jane and Ellen, his daughters; two rent hens at Christmas; and for other covenants, according to the rest of my new tenants; (I built both gable ends, cost ten pounds;) rent at present, 5s.

MOORE, EDWARD,

Which is myself. I built this house. It cost me —.

Finis Chapell Stret in Leverpooll.

Tithebarne Stret.¹

MARCH, EDWARD,²

An honest poor man; use his son well. To this he hath only a house and garden. Remember, at the end of his

¹ Tithebarn Street was originally called Moor Street, probably because it led to the "moor" or "moss," which lay in early days at the head of the old pool, and especially round that part of the township the centre of which is now the point of intersection between Richmond Row and Byrom Street. It may be, however, that "The Flashes" which appear in early maps of the town, at Moore Green, at the point where Marybone and Vauxhall Road now meet, were the remains of a larger mere or lake, which gave its name to the street. In several of the early Moore Charters reference is made to the "Morelake," in circumstances that show that the "Mosslake," upon what is now Brownlow Hill, could not possibly be meant. For example, in a deed dated 1361, John le Corker, chaplain, confirms to John, son of William de la More, *inter alia*, "half a burgage lying next to 'Le Morelake,' between the tenement of William Clerk and that of the heirs of William de Aynaldesdale." The later name of the street is due to the fact that the large barn for the receiving of the tythes stood in it. The site of this is uncertain, but it was probably near Moore Green. The tythes were leased to the Molyneux family for some centuries.

² This house seems to have stood upon the ground which is now the north end of Moorfields, and the passage which Moore suggests into Dale Street was therefore realised in this street, which still perpetuates the family name.

house, eastward, you may very well build two good houses to front the street, and let them each have a back side alike ; so you may have three houses instead of one, the other two houses to pay you at least three shillings apiece old rent, and two rent hens apiece. Observe to get what you can, rent or hens, more than I set down ; but not to take less, unless some great emergency fall out, which is not at present known to me. Remember you look well on the back side, through the croft, which is mine for the mill horses, whether you have not a house over against it in the Dale street, or whether there will not be one sold which is over against it, that thereby you may make a street cross from the Dale street into the Tithebarn street ; but however, see that if you should make a street from the Dale street, through Mr. Chapman's house, into the vacant croft which Alderman Lorting hath of mine, lying near this house fronting the said street, then may be this mill-close would help well to make good back sides to the houses on the east side of the same intended street. In this lease is himself and his son : three hens at Christmas ; three days' shearing. It is worth three pounds a year, and a fine, to a stranger, thirty pounds. Old rent, 3s.

HOWROBEN, EDWARD,

A good honest man ; use his son well. To this house belongs a good back side, which house and back side is worth six pounds a year. There is a way at the west end of his house lying in mean [common] for a passage, equally betwixt Brockbanke's house and this, part of which is my land, and the other his ; and it was agreed betwixt me and them that if I let my land in the said passage lie out, then my tenant should

have free egress and regress to his back side, through the said passage. This way hath been so used in mean betwixt them, as aforesaid, about ten years already last past, and is still so continued to this day. In this house is his own life, Margery his wife, and Edward his son ; worth, to be fined, forty pounds, three days' shearing, three hens ; old rent, 6s.

HACKING, JOHN,¹

A very honest man ; use him or his children, if ever he hath any, very well. Here is belonging to him in this street one house and a barn, with a back side, a pretty croft, all which is worth about five pounds per annum. Here is room at the east end, betwixt this and Harry Masson's house, for three or four houses ; but I charge you, let never none be there erected ; for when this house, barn, and back side falls out of lease, then doth likewise fall out of lease a house called Hacking's House in the Dale street, through the lower end of which house I charge you, with God's permission, make a street which will run directly north through the croft belonging to this house and barn, and so will be a most convenient passage for a street from the Dale street into the Tithebarn street—this may be every foot upon your own land, and the croft will make pretty back sides to each house ; or if you can purchase the close belonging to Mr. Rich. Moore of the Finch House,² lying on the east side of this croft, then may you go with your street winding eastward, and thereby make the

¹ A name perpetuated in the street which Moore here proposes, now called Hackin's Hey. The house seems to have stood to the west of the street end. The site is now occupied by Clarendon Buildings.

² Richard Moore was a second cousin of Edward Moore, being the grandson of Richard Moore, who was younger brother of Edward Moore, "the Surveyor's" grandfather. Finch House was in West Derby township.

houses on the west side the street bigger back sides. But if you cannot purchase Mr. Rich. Moore's croft, then go on with your own; for it will do very well as it is. I know, were this in my own hands, I could, within a year, have a street. Edw. Howroben and John Coppow hath either offered to build there a house, so suddenly as it is opened, for their younger sons. For this house and croft he pays not one penny old rent; for his sister-in-law, who holds the main house in the Dale street, pays the rent for both. All the houses in this new street, let them pay one shilling per yard to the front, and two hens, and for their leases according to the new houses in More street. This young John Hacking, for this house and barn and croft, pays me neither rent, boon, nor hens; only whoever lives upon the premises is bound to grind at my mills by the old lease wherein all is concluded. Remember, my land goes to the border stones of the street, so far upon which you may build.

FORMBY, ALDERMAN,¹

Room for a house, where formerly was a barn; you may build on it when you please; for though it now lies to the Pit-hey, yet my lease to Richard Livesley only includes the Pit-hey with its appurtenances, and not the land upon which Mr. Formby's barn stood, which barn was granted by a former lease from my father, John Moore, to the said Mr. Formby, long before I made this lease to Rich. Livesley. Yet advise well before you build a barn ever here again; for if ever it please God the Pit-hey fall out of lease, you may upon this, and so joining to it the breadth of the Pit-hey all along

¹ Moore here apparently crosses the road in his survey. This vacant space is now represented by a portion of the Exchange Station Buildings.

this street, build several fine houses and gallant back sides. Read more of this in the next following description or direction for the Pit-hey, in this street.

MASSON, HENRY,¹

A good honest poor man; but his wife is a most notorious whore, and a wicked woman. She hath cursed me and mine without any cause, and much abused me, till I was glad to send her to the house of correction; since which she hath been much better. She hath been once bridled, twice carted, and once ducked.² This Henry Masson had a poor house under me in the Castle street, which was ready to fall down, and I out of charity built this house from the cold ground for him, in regard he had been an old servant for some fifty years to our family. When this Henry Masson dies, you may well have ten pounds fine, and five shillings a year rent, and two rent hens. For his wife, if she outlive him, turn her out, for God can never bless anything she hath to do withal. If this old man's son (who—many know is a bastard gotten by

¹ This house seems to have stood at the corner of Tempest Hey.

² The scold's bridle here referred to was an iron instrument of torture that fitted over the culprit's head like the skeleton of a helmet, and from a bar which ran down the front of the face there projected inwards a roughed piece of iron about three inches long by one and a half broad, which was intruded into the unfortunate's mouth, and was intended to keep the tongue still. It must have caused severe suffering to the wearer. "Carting" does not need explanation. "Ducking" was another punishment devised by our humane forefathers for scolding women. A long plank, balanced on a pivot, with a chair at one end, was projected over a pond, the unfortunate "scold" was tied in the chair and the other end raised, with the result that the chair and "scold" were submerged in the pond. There are several references to the "cuckstool," as it was called, in the Town Records. It is spoken of as at "the Watering Poole at Mr. Crosse's field end." This was probably the piece of water at Moore Green, near what is now the corner of Great Crosshall Street and Marybone, called "the Watering-Place," and afterwards "the Flashes," in early maps of the town. This actually was at the end of some large fields belonging to the Crosses.

one Topping, being great with child when she was married) come to take it, you may tell him he is none of Masson's son; yet, if he will give you one pound ten shillings a year till he be able to fine for it, let him have it. The house cost me at least fifteen pounds building; therefore, in all reason, you may make the best use you can to regain the money I have so long laid out for no other reason but charity to the poor man, he never paying me either rent, boon, or service in all his life.

PIT HEY,¹

In Richard Livesley's lease. This is belonging to the demesne of the Old Hall. I hope you will never lease it again in gross to Livesley's house; but either keep it to the demesne as formerly, or lease all the front lying to the Tithebarn street, where you may have several good houses, and lay to each a brave back side, reserving from every house at least fifteen shillings a year; or if you lay the back sides clear through the field, then you may have far more, according to the value of the ground you lay to it, besides the advantage of the buildings to your heir; with hens and other services to yourself—this close lying all along the street side, very advantageous for building on. Here is in it a little house for laying ropes in, and a spinning place thereto belonging: be careful what you do in prejudice of it. Look concerning this in the directions for Rich. Livesley's house in Chapel street and Old Hall street; there you may likewise see what old rent, with other services, are paid for this close.

¹ Pit Hey appears to have lain along Tithebarn Street, on land now covered by the Exchange Station Buildings. Key Street, a street which ran due north from Moorfields, was cut through the middle of Pit Hey by Sir Cleave Moore.

MORE CROFTS AND MILL CROFTS.¹

The first I know nothing of; therefore inquire concerning it. I think some of it is in lease to the house, late John Higgison's, and some of it in Mrs. Owen's lease; only this I think, some of it fronts the street, which, so far as it doth, you may well build thereon, if you can [even] have poor houses, [they] are better than none, keeping a good rent, with hens and — besides the many advantages several tenants bring, and make you far more popular.

And as to the Mill croft,² look my direction of Edward March's house in this street, (for this close lies just beyond his house,) and I have there directed concerning it. This close is for the present in my own hands, and this present time my wife hath sowed it with flax, the crop of which I believe is worth at least ten pounds. God bless it, and all mine. Amen. I would rather have you keep this always for your mill horses; and if you build to the street, upon Edw. March's garden, their back sides go no further than they do at present, so by that you may still keep this for your mill horses, it being very convenient for them.

LORTING, PETTER, ALDERMAN,

For one Fisher's house, which was pulled down in the late wars.³ He should have built on it, but never doth; this

¹ The street called Moorfields was carried through these fields, and so the name is perpetuated, though with the alteration of Crofts to Fields. Moorfields, until quite a recent date, was a miserable alley, too narrow to admit of the passage of more than foot passengers.

² The Mill Croft lay between Dale Street and Tithebarn Street, to the east of the Moor Crofts.

³ At the time of the siege the fortifications crossed the line of Tithebarn Street, near the junction of Marybone and Vauxhall Road. This house, which probably stood near the end of Batchelor Street on the south side of the street, may have suffered by its proximity to the walls.

is the inconvenience of letting many houses to one tenant. He gave to Fisher for his interest seventeen pounds, and five pounds to my father. Whenever it falls out of lease, let it to some that will build a good house thereon ; you may have as much rent four times over, I mean the value of the close, and a good house built thereon besides, and rent hens and other services. Adjoining to this close on the west side, this Peter Lorting hath bought a little house with a little back side, part whereof, measuring lineally according to the breadth of his house, he lets lie common to this land of mine ; see well that whenever it is parted, your land have no prejudice thereby.¹ Remember, on the back of this yard or croft, towards the Dale street, adjoins to it the back sides belonging to Widow Harrison, now young Mr. Chapman's, in right of his wife, who is daughter to the said Widow Harrison. There is some four back sides which belong to four houses of mine, all together, through which, coming into this croft belonging to Peter Lorting's tenement, you may make very easily a street out of the Dale street into the Tithebarn street. If you can buy the little house which is Mr. Peter Lorting's own land, lying to the west of this tenement, then may you make the back sides to the houses on the west side of the street so much larger. If he deny to let you have it, you may most justly deny him ever to sign him a new lease of the two considerable tenements he hath under you besides this, the one of which is in the Dale street, and the other in the Juggler street ; by which means you may be sure of that parcel of land if you please, (yet not but that I would have you give him the true value thereof,) and God

¹ See Note 2, page 29.

will bless you so much better. In this close he hath his own life, Ellen his wife, and Ellen his daughter ; three days' shearing, and three hens at Christmas, and other boons, I believe, (tamen vide,) as other old leases have. Rent, 10s. For this man's conditions, vide his other houses.

Finis Tithbarne Stret in Leverpooll.

Jugler Stret.¹

LURTING, PETTER,

For a house, late Tatlock's. He is a very knave, and hath deceived me twice. I charge you never trust him ; but if it lie in your power, let him know I have marked him out for a knave. He was the man who would neither give me his vote when I stood for a parliament man, neither would he give me his vote when I stood to be mayor of this town ; but treacherously, contrary to his promise and faith, having engaged at his going out of his mayoralty to name me, and so give his vote for me. It's true he named me amongst others, and then gave his vote for another, which made all my friends much wonder at it, that he would offer to put that great disgrace upon me ; by which means I lost both being parliament man and mayor. The disappointment of either,

¹ Juggler Street was subsequently called High Street. It ran from the High Cross, and, passing on the east side of the present Town Hall, crossed what are now the Cotton Flags, and ran northward until it joined Oldhall Street, bisecting Chapel Street at the White Cross.

The name Juggler Street is a very ancient one, occurring constantly in the fourteenth-century charters among the Moore papers, but a satisfactory derivation of the name has yet to be suggested. The only one that the writer has ever heard is that, as a large empty space lay on the west side of the street, on which travelling shows took their stand, it gained its name from the "jogelours" who performed for the edification of the mediæval inhabitants of Liverpool.

as times then stood with me, was not so little as five hundred pounds prejudice, men who were my enemies giving it out, underhand, that I was the son of my father, and therefore durst not give their votes for me; when in truth I am, and was then, in as lawful a condition to have borne an office as any man in England, either to have done my king or country service. This Peter Lorting had nothing to do with this tenement; only he being uncle to Tatlock's children, came in behalf of the eldest son, and I let him have a lease of it cheaper by fifty pounds than I could have had from another. Henry Heay of Ditton offered me a hundred and fifty pounds fine, but I for the good of the heir and his use, made a lease to Peter Lorting, and I being just come to my age, the said Peter Lorting got the lease drawn to himself; since which, the young man who was Tatlock's eldest son is dead, and this Lorting keeps the house with the land to himself, and will neither permit me nor Tatlock's younger children to have the premises; by which he cheats them of the living, and me of fifty pounds—I might have had more. All these truths abovesaid considered, you are not bound neither in conscience nor law to look on him as a tenant, but set it to your best advantage.

To this house belongs a good back side, and a stately room betwixt it and the street to build on. You may build to the border stone in the street, according to the custom of the town; but if there be never any building thereon, then remember there is a place walled in with Perpoint ashlar, where most of the street lay their dung, so that it is of great advantage. There belongs to this house several lands in the field, (query, how many?) and a close of ground near the

Castle, upon which close, joining the other three closes betwixt it and the Pool bridge,¹ you may make two brave streets. But if you cannot buy the said three closes, two of which are in your tenants, Jo. Lorting's and Rich. Jones's hands, and if ever their tenements come out of lease, then strive to buy these fields; the third field is my uncle Robert Moore's. I say if these fields cannot be got, then build straight down and up your own field, wherein you may make a street, or at least join with John Lorting's, which is next to you, and let the street lie half upon your close and half upon his; then will you have brave back sides to each. You may have for the bare house and back side, to a stranger, a hundred pounds fine and the old rent it now gives. Then the lands in the field, you may either lay them to the Old Hall, or lease them to several, according to my directions for lands in the fields, for at least sixty pounds; and for the close at the back of the Castle, never lease it, but either build on it or lay it to the Old Hall, to increase your rent and demesne. By dividīng things thus, you may treble your fine, rent, and hens, and make your interest so much stronger by how much more tenants you have. Never lease to one man more than one house; and for the lands in the field, either keep them as formerly to the Old Hall, or lease them to several tenants, by which you may treble your rents, your hens, your services to your mills, and likewise your fines; and then will you have three tenants or more for one, and where you receive one

¹ The Pool bridge was apparently close to the foot of South Castle Street, then called Pool Lane. The streets here suggested were never carried out (so far as it is possible to follow Moore's suggestions), though his alternative scheme was, and the street carried "straight down and up your own field" is represented to-day by Cable Street. (See Note 3, p. 103, and Note 1, p. 61.)

penny for change of lives or fines, you will have three, (vide my directions,) for I have observed little things will give better fines than great things, as being everybody's money. This house, with its appurtenances, is worth per annum twenty pounds. Lives in it, his own life, Ellen his wife, and Peter his son. Three hens at Christmas, three days' shearing, and boons according to the rest of the old tenants. Rent, £1, 10s.

ANDOW, WIDOW.¹

This house I had no fine for. Her husband built it for his fine; but if now to be leased, worth at least fifty pounds fine and one pound a year old rent. Here is at the south end at least two feet of my land left out, for which Mr. Andow promises if I will permit his tenant to have free egress to his back side betwixt the houses, then my tenant shall likewise have the same to her garden and back side. Mr. Andow and I met about it, and we have agreed a writing shall be drawn for a memorandum, for ever, that either party and their tenants may have free egress and regress for ever, as above said. Here is only one daughter, which was this widow's first husband's child; see she be not wronged by the second husband's children. Her father was an honest man. I went to Ireland once in his ship, and he was very civil to me; use his well for that, and God will bless you. Lives in this house is only her own and Jane Andow, her daughter: three days' shearing, three hens at Christmas. Old rent, 6s. 8d. Other duties as old tenants are, (vide Liverpool instruction).

¹ Andow or Aindow is a name which was fairly common at this time in the Hundred of West Derby, though it has nearly died out to-day. The name was commonest in the neighbourhood of Formby.

YOUNG, ANNE.

She is dead, and her grandchild enjoys this house, whose father, by name Baly March, is a notorious knave, and her husband, one Rob. Prenton, as bad. Both of them hath been against me in all elections, and this particular hath several times abused me by bad language behind my back, and said I was the worst landlord in England, as I proved it to his face in Mr. Tho. Birch's house, near More street end. I will only give you one instance of this knave. When I was last at London, my affairs called me to stay above seven months; so he going up with his ship to London, my wife engaged him to see me, which he faithfully promised; and I having notice that he was safe arrived at Billingsgate, went on purpose to see him, and after much ado, at a wharf a great deal lower than Billingsgate, I found his ship; and having a suit of apparel on my back which cost me at least forty pounds, I took my man's cloak, and throwing it over my clothes, I did so far condescend as to go into a pitiful alehouse, where I sat watching for him till he came to his ship, in a room where was at least five or six several companies of the meanest sort of people you can imagine; and when he came, I gave him good store of ale, and likewise his seamen, and offered, if he had occasion, to let him have what money he pleased, and told him I had several things to send down by sea, so took my leave with great promises he made to see me; but he never came near me, neither ever sent to me, when at the same time was one John Burton with his ship, and although he was none of my tenant, came several times to see me, and proffered to do me what services lay in his power. All this being nothing

but truth, I charge you never let him have the house, but if ever he have occasion to use you, let him know what it is to be against an honest landlord ; for in the presence of God, I never did him wrong, to the best of my knowledge, in all my life, but was always civil towards him—the Lord reward him, and forgive his ill contrived spirit towards me. If this house [be] out of lease, worth eighty pounds fine, though there be no land to it. But query if there be any, then the fine must be greater. In this is only this knave's wife's life, (her name was Anne March ;) two days' shearing ; three hens at Christmas. Old rent, £2. Vide Liverpool directions.

QUERY, How the town came by the little shops where women now sell apples, and the cobbler works? Because in an exchange from Sir Richard Mullinex, I find them granted to my great great great grandfather, John More.

Finis Juggler Stret in Leverpool.

Water Street.¹

HUNTER, JONATHAN.

He was my butler fourteen years. He paid me no fine, only laid out near a hundred pounds in building. If it were to be leased to a stranger, worth eighty-five pounds ; but to him or his, take not above twenty pounds, only make

¹ Water Street, or Water Gate, was originally Bonke Street, or Bank Street (the street up the river bank), the change of name taking place in the sixteenth century. Like most of the other streets in Liverpool, the Water Street of to-day is very much wider than it was in Moore's time. At the foot of the hill on the north side, abutting on the river, stood the fortified mansion of the Stanleys, usually known as The Tower.

the rent thirty shillings a year as it was formerly. Remember Mrs. Woods hath done me wrong in taking in the place betwixt her house and this house, for it ought to lie to the street, as, till of late, it always did; for us and whom we claim under always had a great pair of stone stairs went up from the back of this house to the upper room of this house—this very house being formerly the granary belonging to the priory of Berket [Birkenhead] in Wirral, where such corn as they left unsold on the market days was carried up those back stairs of stone into an upper room, and there lay till next market day. But Jonathan Hunter building this house almost anew, took down those stairs and made use of the stones, and within two or three years, when I was at London in all my troubles, this Mrs. Woods made the wall, and set the door, which now incloses it from the street. Besides, she hath not left me so much as an eavesing drop. She is an old doting woman; but you may by fair means have this remedied in time, it being my very good lord and friend¹ the Earl of Derby's land—I mean the house wherein Mrs. Woods now lives is a tenement belonging to the lord of Derby. This house, called the granary to Berket [Birkenhead] priory, was sold, after the dissolution of abbeys, by that very name, and my father, John More, bought it, and had a fine past of it from one Mr. William More, who at this day is alive in Manchester. Look well to this deed, vide Hunter Jonathan, or More William, in my book of alphabets. In this deed is the Poole house, and the barn

¹ The Earls of Derby held very little land at this time in Liverpool, their main possession being the Tower at the foot of Water Street mentioned in the note on the opposite page. Much of the Moore property, however, eventually found its way into the possession of the family by purchase.

formerly Rose's in the Old Hall street, now Sandiford's, (vide Old Hall street ;) three geese at Michaelmas ; old rent, 13s. 4d.

CHANLER, JOHN,

Late the tenement of one Milling. It is the Lord Mullinex's land, out of which I and my ancestors ever had six shillings a year chief rent. Query if this was not Mainwaring's land¹ before Mullinex's, who sold it in fee farm, and so the chief came to us, according as Robert Lions, and Baly Story, in the same street. Now query, as old Tho. Wharton told me what lands belong to this house, which are absolutely my inheritance ; as one by name, he says, called the Maden lands,² for which I have a deed. Look it out, and if you find it so, take the lands and not the rent, which is but 6s.

FORMBY, ALDERMAN,³

Is one who, when to have chosen me a parliament man would have saved my whole estate, he would not give

¹ Apparently not, as will be seen by reference to Note 2, p. 48.

² The Maiden Lands, lying close to Maiden's Green, are represented to-day by the land in the neighbourhood of the junction of Leeds Street and Pall Mall. Maiden's Green still exists as the name of a court off Highfield Street. The name occurs frequently in early Liverpool charters.

³ Gilbert Formby, one of a family which has for centuries been honourably connected with Liverpool, was one of the six aldermen who in 1662 refused to subscribe the oath required in an Act entitled "An Act for the well governing, &c., of Corporations," and was accordingly removed from the office of alderman. The text of the required oath is as follows : "I doe declare that I hold there lyes noe obligation upon mee or any other person from the oath commonly called the Solemne League and Covenant. And that the same was in it selfe an unlawful oathe and imposed upon the subjects of the Realme against the known laws and liberties of the Kingdom."

me his vote ; but when I sent Mr. Shaw the minister to him, he returned him the answer, I was too young to be a parliament man, therefore he would not give me his vote this parliament or the next, but the third parliament he would. Thus you may see what to expect of such knaves ; when his vote might have been worth five thousand pounds to me, and cost him nothing, yet he would not give it me, but as much as in him lay endeavoured to have extirpated me and mine for ever. Therefore I hope it is no sin, whenever the house falls out of lease, to endeavour to get a better tenant, for discouragement of rogues, and encouragement of honest tenants. This fellow, Baly March, Alderman Andow, and Alderman Corlese, were all the tenants that openly appeared against me, at the king's coming in, for being a parliament man. The Lord Jesus forgive them. It had saved me five thousand pounds if I had been of that parliament. This house is worth a hundred and fifty pounds fine, or two hundred pounds rather. There is but two lives in it, himself and William his son ; two days' shearing, three hens at Christmas. Old rent, £2, 3s. 4d.

HOULT, JOAN,

One who hath much abused me. Her son James was one of those who promised me his vote, and when it came to the election,¹ left me and went to the other party. This old woman she did use me very hard when I made Fenwick street ; in a word, she would let me have nothing after me,

¹ The election which Moore so repeatedly refers to was the Parliamentary one of 1660, in which Colonel Gilbert Ireland and the Hon. William Stanley were returned as representing Liverpool.

either as her landlord or a friend. She is the only hindrance for houses on that side Fenwick street;¹ for the little piece of her back side, she had six times as much land of me in the town field. If ever she get you on the advantage, you must expect no mercy; therefore if ever it fall out of lease, make your best advantage. Here are six or eight lands belong to this house; take them clear away, and lay them to the Old Hall; and for the house, it is worth a hundred and fifty pounds fine for three lives, or a hundred pounds fine and raise the rent to forty shillings a year. She lately gave me twenty-four pounds in silver to put in her grandchild's life, and gave my wife a piece of gold; she at the same time had her own life, and her daughter Livesley's. Remember, if ever it lie in your power, take away all her back side so far as Fenwick street reaches; and then you may lay to John Rimer's house, of her back side, so far as his house and kitchen reaches; and then in lieu of that, you may take away, at either end of John Rimer's house, all the land which now he hath; then may you have fair houses built thereon all along to the front in Fenwick street, and lay for their back sides part of Joan Hoult's back side; by which means that which is now a dead wall will be all fair houses, much to the honour of the street. Therefore fail not to do it. In this house and lands are her life, Anne her daughter, and — Hoult her grandchild. Two days' shearing, three hens at Christmas, and old rent, £1, 4s. 6d.

¹ This house appears to have stood close to the corner of Fenwick Street and Water Street, on a portion of the land which is now occupied by India Buildings, and the back garden of the house ran round to Fenwick Street and followed its course for some way.

OWIN, MISTRIS,¹

Baly Owen's wife. She hath, besides this house, two houses more, one in the Chapel street, and the other in More street. You must never expect anything to the value of a farthing from her, but what is for her own ends. Here are twenty-two or twenty-three and twenty lands belong to this house, which very lands will give at least two hundred and twenty pounds by themselves. But I would never have you lease them; and if you should, read my directions as to your leasing lands, at the end of this Rental for Liverpool. Remember, if ever it lie in your power, fail not but take all the garden so far as lies to the front of Fenwick street, and then, whereas it is now but a dead wall to the street, you may cause fair buildings thereon. I would not have you leave neither garden nor back side to this house so far as it lies fronting to Fenwick street; nay, though you pull down Margaret Granger's little kitchen, and build thereon, and lay for the back side the land whereon the thatched barn

¹ Among the Moore papers is an interesting petition addressed to the Vice-Chancellor of the County Palatine of Lancaster, undated, but evidently drawn up about 1669, which refers to this house and its tenant. The petition is from Thomas Lancelott of Liverpool, ship carpenter, and Elizabeth his wife, who was daughter and heir of one Henry Robinson, late of Liverpool, mariner, and recites that whereas the said Henry did agree with John Moore of Bankhall to build a dwelling-house in Water Street on a certain piece of land formerly "a wast place and used only for a common dunghill," and that Henry built the house and had a lease from Moore, for his own life, that of his wife Anne, and his eldest son John. Henry died, and John the son, "being slayne in the late warrs under the Conduct of the said John Moore," Anne the widow married again, one "John Owen a stranger, to the great hindrance and detriment of her small children," and by collusion of Edward Moore, a new lease was arranged which debarred all Henry Robinson's children from participating in its benefits, and instead substituted one Hannah Breares, a daughter of Anne Owen by her second husband. The petitioners therefore ask for writs of subpoena to be directed to Robert Breares, Hannah his wife, and Edward Moore and "other the said confederates," &c.

This house stood on part of the site now occupied by the Bank of Liverpool.

belonging to this house now stands; for good houses will set for money enough hereabout. Remember, for the other two houses, you never lease them all in this lease again, but to several tenants, by which, where you have one tenant, you will have three, and many great advantages thereby will accrue. Read my directions in this Rental concerning letting no tenant have more houses than one. This Mrs. Owen hath a lease in reversion for twenty-one years after her own life. If she give it to the daughter by John Owen, she much wrongs her former husband's children, of which there is none now living but one Eliz. Lanclet, who is heir by the landlord's courtesy to it; therefore, if it lie in your power, help the wronged, and do justice. This Mrs. Owen paid but thirty pounds for the twenty-one years, which was as good as nothing. The fine of this house, without the lands or either of the other houses, is well worth two hundred pounds, two days' shearing, three hens at Christmas. But in the lease for twenty-one years, when that comes in force, then there is a great deal more boons, (vide the lease,) and the old rent is £2, 6s. 6d.

STORY, ALDERMAN,¹

For the house he lives in, and the lands belonging to it. Out of it, for ever, a fee farm rent. This was Manring of Croxton's land,² who first sold the land in fee

¹ Thomas Storey was one of the six Conformists who were elected aldermen to fill the places of those who refused to take the oath in 1662.

² Among the Moore papers is a schedule dated 8th May 1560, containing full particulars of the purchase of this estate by John Moore from Charles Mainwaring of Croxton, co. Chester, detailing eleven lands and one acre in the Townfield, two half burgages in Water Street, two half burgages in Dale Street, one half burgage in Castle Street, and one half burgage in Chapel Street.

farm, and afterwards sold the rent reserved to my great great grandfather, John Moore, in Queen Mary's time. It is payable but once a year at Michaelmas, and there is a particular covenant that if they do not pay the chief or fee farm rent exactly on Michaelmas day before sunset, then the land is to return to Maniring, his heirs, or assigns, which you are by law. Therefore look well to it. The fee farm rent reserved is but 6s.

LION, ROBERT,

Out of this house¹ I and my ancestors formerly had a fee farm rent of eight shillings, (it was Manoring of Croxton's land in Cheshire). But now, the Lord Jesus bless you and me and make us thankful, that enabled me to buy it of Robert Lion, by which means I have pulled down the middle part thereof and made the passage for Fenwick street just through it. Take notice that the little house over against it, lying between Joan Hoult's and this house, was formerly part of these premises, and when Mr. Mannoring of Croxton sold it in fee farm, the eight shillings reserved was out of the whole; so that you having the fee farm rent, notwithstanding the subsequent tenants have parted it, you may strain [distrain] for your rent upon any part of the premises. Look into my title amongst the deeds, and there you will more at large find the reason. This Robert Lion is a most honest man; if ever he need you, use him well, for my sake. At the same time I bought it, he might have had forty

¹ This building appears to have stood across the entrance to Fenwick Street, and when Moore made his new street, he pulled down the middle of the house, thus dividing it into two parts. The portion at the north-east corner of Fenwick Street, where the Bank of Liverpool now stands, was occupied by Margaret Granger.

pounds more money ; but he bade them all be contented, I should have it before any in England. I charge you take sixty pounds for a lease of him or his less than of any other. This tenement is divided into two parts : the one, Margaret Granger lives in, and the other, Owner Worrell now lives in. The side Widow Granger lives in is worth eighty pounds fine, and ten shillings rent ; and the other part, which Worrell lives in, with the kitchen and stable, is worth sixty pounds more, and ten shillings rent ; and for either, three rent hens apiece. I charge you never lease to one tenant two houses ; it weakens your interest in many respects, and you can never have so good fines nor rents. Read my directions concerning it in the end of Liverpool Rental. Remember, all the passage or street, from the border stones in the Water street to the Castle hill,¹ is your absolute land of inheritance, to which purpose I have caused the posts and chains there to be set, that you may, as often as you please, cause them locked to keep your interest, that no carts may go that way but pay you an acknowledgment. I have likewise an instrument drawn under the town seal to acknowledge all this, so that there may never be any difference between you and the town about it. In this house at present is the said Robert Lion's own life, and Peter Lorting, son to Alderman Lorting, and a kinsman's child of Robert Lion, living in the country, I know not where. Take notice, if this Robert Lion die without children, (as at present he hath none,) that then you may set the premises at a far greater rate for a fine. He pays two hens at Easter, and no more rent than what his

¹ Castle Hill was a continuation of Moor Street through to Castle Street (*vide* Plan of Liverpool).

chief was before I bought it. The side Granger lives in is worth, a year, eight pounds, and the other part Worrell lives in, as above said, is worth six pounds. The old rent for all is but 8s.

CORLESE, HENRY,¹

A knave of knaves; one that in all elections, both for parliament man and mayor, was against me. He and Alderman Andow, Rich. Williamson, Baly March, Alderman Formby, Baly Holt, and Will. Mosse, were those that only of my own tenants openly appeared against me, (vide every one of their characters by Andow's). To this house belong several standings of tradesmen upon the market day; and if occasion be, you may build so far as the gutter which comes from Widow Ectellston's [Eccleston's] house. When old Mr. Bannister made that wall, he left out that parcel of ground on purpose, because of the profit accrued for standings on the market days and fairs. Only take notice, you must pay the usual toll rent to the town, but no more, which is —.

This is the only place in all Liverpool to build a good house on, it standing just in the heart of the market.² As

¹ Among the Moore papers are several documents relating to a suit or suits at law between Edward Moore and Henry Corles, which probably explain his intense animosity. The two were also intimately connected for some time, about twelve years prior to this. Colonel Moore, who died indebted to the Corporation, had obtained as surety one James Sotherne, whose daughter Margaret married Henry Corles. On James Sotherne's death Henry Corles and his wife were sued by the Corporation, and in the end Edward Moore came forward and paid the debt.

² This house must have been at the head of Water Street, close to the present Town Hall, as the old Liverpool market was held at this period all round the High Cross, which stood, as has already been stated, opposite the embayment at the north-west corner of Dale Street, where Agnew's and the London City and Midland Bank are now situated.

it is now, the house is worth eight pounds per annum, and the standings two pounds; for the fine, a hundred pounds, and make the rent two pounds per annum. He pays three hens at Christmas, three days' shearing, and old rent, £1, 6s. 8d.

There is a lease for twenty-one years after Mrs. Corlese's decease; look for it under the name of Mrs. Allcocke, in the More street or Castle hill; what rent and boons she pays, vide —.

Finis Watter Stret in Leverpool.

Castle Stret.¹

ROW, THOMAS.

This man is pretty honest, yet trust him not; for if he see a greater party against you, he will deceive you. This house stands in a good place, and will set for ten pounds per annum. Remember, if ever it fall in your way, that you take a piece of a cellar from it that lies just under Widow Blundell's house, laying that cellar to Widow Blun-

¹ Castle Street may be taken as the centre of the old town, running as it did between the Castle and the High Cross. In no instance, perhaps, is the difference between Moore's time and ours more marked than in this street. In his time it was only five yards wide for the greater part of its length, though it widened out, funnel like, at the Town Hall end. When it is understood that the present street is twenty yards wide at the narrowest part, or four times the width it was in Moore's day, we may realise something of the difference. The only street that broke its frontage was Fenwick Alley, now approximately represented by the upper part of Brunswick Street on its west side. Then, in addition to this, the street only ran as far as the top of the modern Harrington Street, as at this point the Castle trench barred the way, a footpath leading round the north-east corner of the Castle to the top of Lord Molyneux's new street (now Lord Street), which he was actually laying out at this time. At the north end of Castle Street, and the west end of Dale Street, the Fair of Liverpool used to be held. In the widening of Castle Street the east side has practically remained unaltered in its alignment, the west side having been thrown back about fifty feet at the south end, though considerably less at the north end.

dell's house. It will make Widow Blondell's house far more convenient, and the taking it from this house will not be threepence prejudice to these premises. This house deserves a hundred and twenty pounds fine, and to make the rent up forty shillings. He hath in it two lives, viz. Thomas and James, his sons; three days' shearing, three hens at —; old rent, £1, 15s. 8d.

BLUNDELL, *alias* HEAYS, WIDOW, *and*

SCASBRICKE *her son-in-law.*

A very cunning woman; hath to her son-in-law a notorious knave, and one whom I charge you never trust. I will here tell you a pretty story of him. I intending to build a stable at my horse mill door, to make it bigger I would take in a little gennell, in length some three yards and in breadth not one yard, which lay at the south end of Will. Riding the cooper's. But William Riding was extremely unreasonable, and demanded to have two shillings yearly abated out of his rent for it, when in truth nobody in England would give threepence a year for it; and I seeing him so base to me, desired he would refer it to any body, to which he agreed. Then I named this fellow Scasbricke and Tho. Bridge, as indifferent betwixt us; and after two days they awarded me to abate two shillings yearly and the three rent hens, which was as good as four shillings per annum, and awarded me, besides, to make the same William Riding a back door in the wall to his back side in Penix [Fenwick] alley, with locks and key, in all which would have cost me at least fifteen shillings. Thus you see what it is to rely on such knaves; when I could

have had it for two shillings, they would have made me pay fifteen shillings fine, and four shillings yearly; and these were both my own tenants and arbitrators. Thus you see what unreasonable souls these common people have, and perfectly hate a gentleman. I charge you in the name of God, never trust them. Do but consider what a knave they would have judged me to have been, had they or any else referred such a business to me, and I to have made such an award. If ever it lie in your way, remember it and read this to them, and let them find as much favour from you as I had from them, that is, to make them either pay more than any other, or take their livings from them. Remember, there is a little piece of a cellar lies under this house, which now Thomas Row in this street hath in possession, (read the directions concerning him,) and lay it to this house; it will make it much better. This will be well worth twenty pounds fine and one pound a year rent. She at present pays three days' shearing, three hens at Christmas, and hath in it her own life, James Scasbricke her son's, and Anne her daughter's. If ever this James Scasbricke come to be bailiff of Liverpool, he is to give me — pounds more of his fine, (vide his lease concerning it). Old rent, 15s.

FELLS, *alias* JUMPE, ESIBELL.

This was formerly Mannoring of Croxton's land;¹ and first he sold it in fee farm, reserving one shilling of

¹ See Note 2, p. 48. The entry in the schedule there alluded to is as follows: "Item. One halfe burgage in the Castell Street lying betix the late lands of Nicholas Thomasson on both sides, and in the tacke [occupation] of John Winstanley."

rent yearly to him and his heirs and assigns; then after he sold the rent to my great great grandfather, John Moore, in Queen Mary's days. There is payable to this a little alley of houses,¹ one half of which lately I have bought, and the other half or side Mr. Pemberton, the apothecary, hath bought. Now take notice that you may make Mr. Pemberton pay all the twelvenpence a-year if you please, for if it were sold into a thousand parcels, yet the chief-lord might distrain of all, or any part of it, for his reserved rent. But if they should plead my purchase of part of the inheritance hath drowned the rent, you may plead, it's true, I bought the land, and at the same time the fee of inheritance, of the one shilling rent, was in the Lord of Meath² by a special grant from the king, and so the rent is not drowned with the inheritance. There is a particular clause in the deed to Mr. Mannoring, of Croxton, that if the one shilling rent be not paid exactly at Michaelmas day the land reverts again. Remember if ever this fall out of lease you never lease the garden again, but have it all built with little houses to the very bottom, and so Mr. Pemberton will build the like; and then remember one half of the passage or street down to the lower end must be allowed out of his ground, and the other half out of my land; so let it lie for a passage in mean betwixt you. Remember I have now a place reserved out of this woman's lease, at the east end of her house, which will be good room to build two little houses on, and get them

¹ This house appears to have stood on the east side of Castle Street, somewhere about the site of the Queen Insurance Buildings, and the little alley of houses here alluded to is probably represented to-day by Queen Avenue.

² The Earl of Meath was one of his wife's trustees (see Note 1, p. 136).

built as soon as you can; you may have five shillings apiece for them, and two rent hens apiece yearly, and let a tenant build them for the fine. Remember that joining to this house, on the north side next towards the High Cross, is a new house, lately built by one — Rimer, to which house, at the south side, he hath made a great door for a laden horse to go into his back side, part of which door and sides thereof stands on my land, and within my ussing-drop of this house of Essibell Fells; but he hath promised me to give me a note under his hand and seal, and likewise under his hand and seal to acknowledge that it stood upon my land, and that whenever I pleased it should be taken down again, (vide this note amongst my deeds). This Issibell Fells is much in arrear of rent. After I had purchased my part of one Fells, a Cheshire man; merely out of charity, for her consent, I gave her ten pounds in silver and twelve bushels of malt; and Mr. Pemberton, who purchased the other half, would not give her one penny. Have in mind that this Issibell Fells pretended a title to the whole alley, and when I bought my part of it I had her consent, by being party both to the deed and fine, the which Mr. Pemberton had not; only from John Fells, in Cheshire, his purchase came.¹ Query,

¹ There was a family of Fells settled in Bidston and Upton about this time. William Fells of Bidston Hall, gentleman, died about 1613, and in his will, dated 1603 but proved in 1613, he leaves his "lands in Liverpool" to his brother Stephen Fells and his heirs male, and in default thereof to his brother Christopher Fells and his heirs. Stephen's son John married Anne, daughter of Robert Bennett of Upton. If this John and the John in the text are the same, this Isabel Fells must have been his second wife. In the Burgess Roll for 1620 is one Christopher Fells, of Castle Street.

It is worth noting in this connection that in Smithers' "Liverpool" is the following passage: "The first glimpse of a disposition towards literature traceable in

if this may not make Mr. Pemberton's title worse? In this lease is her own life, and Peter Jumpe's, her son; three days' shearing, three hens at Christmas. Rent, 10s.

PLOME, WIDOW,

A good, honest, poor woman. A pretty new house. I did put in her son's life for nine pounds and the building this house; there are two lands in the field belong to it. Remember at the north end is a most convenient place for to build on, to come out into the street and to join to this house. Remember whenever you make another lease of it, you cause them thereon at the north end to build. Remember that whenever it comes out of lease you never lease all the back side to it again, for I would have you make the back side to this house go no further than a cross-wall, which now divides the back side and the yard. And take notice the yard hath a front for some thirty yards, which faces directly south towards the highway, which goes towards the pool,¹ upon which front of thirty yards you may cause two good houses, or at least, one as good a house as most will be in Liverpool, for taking from the cross-wall above said, there will then belong a brave back side to it, and I am confident this will be a most excellent place to build on. This house, with part taken away from it, will be worth thirty pounds, besides the two lands. There are at present but two lives,

Liverpool appears in a donation of £30 given by John Fells, a mariner, in 1715, to found a small theological library in St. Peter's Church (Peet's "Inventory of Liverpool Churches," p. vi).

¹ This highway is now represented by Harrington Street, so Widow Plumb's house must have stood on a site now filled by Hellewell's Buildings.

viz.: Ellen Carre, wife of Old Carre, and the widow, and her son, Thomas Plome; two hens at Christmas, shearing two days. Rent, 12s.

WILLIAMSON,¹ RICHARD,

A most notorious knave, I mean as to me and mine; upon all occasions hath been always against me. Remember you never trust any of that name in this town, for there is a great faction of them and their relations, and what is in them always lies underhand. They have always been enemies to me and all your predecessors, time out of the memory of man. I pray God keep you and yours from their malice. Amen. Query, what belongs to this house? for I know not. This house stands near the market in a very convenient place, is worth seventy pounds fine. Lives in it, his own, Katherine his wife, and Robert his son; three days' shearing, three hens at Christmas; rent, £2.

JOHNSON, BALLY,²

One of the hardest men in town. He bought this of Rich. Heapy without my consent; and at last, for forty

¹ The Williamsons for centuries were identified with Liverpool, and in spite of the ordinary character of their name, the writer, after going through several hundred early charters relating to Liverpool, has little doubt that their true name was De Liverpool, and that they were collateral descendants of the John de Liverpool who founded the chantry of St. John's in St. Nicholas' Chapel. The Crosses of Shaw Hill, Chorley, but formerly of Crosse Hall, Liverpool, are descended by distaff from the same stock.

There seems to have been a deadly feud between the Moores and Williamsons, as Moore here states.

² Bailiff Thomas Johnson was an important man, and figures a great deal in the history of Liverpool during the second half of the seventeenth century. He

pounds, I admitted him tenant and changed him two lives ; but within less than a year, I making Penix [Fenwick] street, had occasion to use the little close which is now Widow Greton's back side, and he had the impudence to demand sixty pounds of me for that, when in truth it was worth but ten shillings per annum ; and the whole tenement was at least eighteen pounds a year, which I let him have for forty pounds. And at last all I could bring him to was to take four lands in Liverpool field, which I could have had near thirty pounds for. Thus you may see that you must expect no mercy from such rogues ; therefore in the name of God make the best you can of your own. There belongs to this house several lands in the field, besides the four he had of me : never lease them again. Remember there belongs a great close to this house, lying in the Dale street, which runs down to the pool.¹ If ever the pool shall be cut so as shipping shall come up on the back of the town, then this will be a most especial place to make a street, the only piece of land you have. I charge you never lease it again, but reserve it for a street. Here is a barn stands at the end of this field, now set for three pounds per annum. If there should never any

is stated to have been a native of Bedford Leigh in Lancashire, becoming a freeman of Liverpool by servitude in 1655 (Picton's Memorials, vol. i. p. 173). He was chosen bailiff in 1663, and mayor in 1670. In 1677, together with several others, he refused to take the oath attached to the new Charter, after which he seems to have retired from public life until 1695, when he was nominated mayor *pro tem*. He died shortly afterwards, his will being proved at Chester in 1700.

This house, it would appear from the notes under Fenwick Street, was next on the north side of Edward Jones', and is probably now represented by the more southerly portion of the new premises of Parr's Bank.

¹ This "great close" lay between Dale Street and the Pool—now Whitechapel—and on it now stands part of the Municipal Buildings, and through it, lengthwise, runs Sir Thomas Street, so named after Bailiff Johnson's famous son, Sir Thomas Johnson (*vide* Note 1, page 82).

street be there built, you might have to the front, in the Dale street, three or four brave houses built, and great back sides, worth twenty shillings apiece a year, old rent. This house in the Castle street only of itself is worth a hundred and thirty pounds fine, the lands in the field worth a hundred pounds fine, and the barn and close in the Dale street worth nobody knows what. But I charge you never lease them all to one. Three hens at Christmas; three days' shearing; lives, Bally Johnson's two children; rent, £2.

Vide, before you lease this back side, Penix [Fenwick] alley, on the west end, concerning James Glover.

JONES, EDWARD,¹

Hath a lease for his own life, Peter and Roger Jones, his brethren. A very good house, worth, old rent, two pounds a year, and one hundred pounds fine; two hens at Easter, two days' shearing. At present the old rent is but £1, 6s. Query, what lands in the town-field?

This Edw. Jones hath an elder brother who bought a small close of ground of Mr. Rich. Moore, of the Finch House; it cost him but forty pounds. I wish you had given one hundred pounds for it, for had you but this close, and another which is your tenant's, John Lorting's, then might you build a most brave street or two; all from the Lord Mullinex's buildings to the Pool House would be yours, and my uncle,

¹ From the reference to Edward Jones' back wall in the part of the survey dealing with Fenwick Street, it is clear that this house must have occupied a site in front of Messrs. Dunthorne & Brown's, 30 Castle Street.

Robert Moore's.¹ These four closes are the only places in Liverpool to build on. If ever the pool be made navigable, the shipping will lie two parts round them. If possible fail not to buy this close, John Lorting's and my uncle Robert's, or rather let my poor uncle Robert's son have his share of the houses so far as stands on his close.

MOSSE, WILLIAM,²

An idle drunken fellow; one of Andow's gang, which betrayed me contrary to his faith. Query, what lands in the town-field worth eighty pounds fine? and to raise the rent to two pounds per annum; in it three days' shearing, three rent hens. It is at present held by Mosse's wife's life, but query another lease made to her eldest daughter. Remember to view this building, for this fellow lets it go down. Old

¹ This refers to the land through which now runs Cable Street, Thomas Street, Atherton Street, and King Street (see Note 1, page 39). Robert Moore must have been an old man at this time, though why Edward Moore speaks of him as "poor uncle Robert" is not clear, unless the fact that he had buried his wife Eleanor at St. Nicholas', in the February of this year (*vide* Peet's St. Nicholas' Register) accounts for it. He seems to have been on good terms with Edward Moore, as he appears in the Town Records on one or two occasions as refusing to vote against his unpopular nephew, when the Corporation and Edward Moore were at variance. Mr. Robert Moore lived in Water Street, and paid on three chimneys in the 1663 Hearth taxation (see Appendix). He died in 1677, aged about seventy-five, and left a will, which is still preserved at Chester.

In this will, which is dated 16th February 1676-7, he desires that his body be buried in "the Chappell of Liverpoole, where my wife was buried." He leaves £80 and all his household effects to his daughter Katherine, and his dwelling-house in Water Street and "eleven and two halfe lands in the Town fields, which go with the house" to his son Robert Moore, and he makes his son and daughter executors. Witnesses: Mary Fazakerley and Thos. Chapman. The will was proved 28th February 1677-8, by Katherine Moore, power being reserved for the other executor to act. The inventory of goods was valued at £21, 7s. 6d. by Anthony Banester and Thomas Eccles, both of Liverpool.

² Messrs. Jas. Mawdesley & Son's new establishment, No. 32 Castle Street, is on part of this land.

rent, £1, 6s. Vide Phenix alley at the west end. James Glover's alley, if ever built, this back side to be for them; therefore lease it not.

HARRISON, ELIZABETH,

Because her father was an old servant to my family, I gave her life in it for but five pounds fine. Remember whenever it lies in your power you cause the old dirty buildings belonging to this house, fronting Phenix alley,¹ to be pulled down and rebuilt anew, handsomely to the street. And likewise remember to take the vacant place at the end of her old kiln into your hands, and there fronting to the alley you may have a good house or two built. This woman, after I had given her life in for as good as nothing, she forced me to give her two children's lives in, for a little piece of her garden; therefore, if ever it lie in your way, in the name of God, you may most justly make the best of it. It is worth, at present, thirteen pounds per annum, for all which she gave but five pounds fine for three lives. It is worth one hundred pounds fine, besides the places to build on, which I would have you make distinct houses; and if ever it lie in your way, make them contribute, with others, to the public well in that alley. Two hens at Christmas, three days' shearing. Lives, her own and ——. £2. Vide this Widow Harrison's house in Phenix alley, more at large, fail not.

¹ This house appears to have stood at the corner of Fenwick Alley, on the site now partly covered by Messrs. Jas. Mawdesley & Son's shop; but it must be borne in mind that the actual house stood far out into the present street—about two-thirds of the way across to the other side. There are fuller details of this house and land under Fenwick Alley, *q.v.* p. 153.

RIDING, WILLIAM,¹

Lately turned papist, and one who hath dealt most basely with me about a little gennell² betwixt him and my horse mill, upon which I would have built part of my new stable at the north side of my mill door, (vide Widow Blundell's son-in-law, by name Scasbricke, concerning their harsh dealings with me). This house is worth forty pounds fine, and to raise the rent to one pound four shillings, as the old rent was formerly; but when I made Finwicke alley, they forced me to bate ten shillings of the old rent yearly. I hope that you will not fail to make it again, whenever it lies in your power. Lives in this, him the said William Riding, Thomas his son, and Ann his daughter, (vide Riding in Cleaves alley;) three days' shearing after the death of William, and hens, three at Christmas, and old rent, 14s.

HORSE MILL.³

God bless it. A thing of great concernment to your estate. I have got, when the trading to Lawhaber [Lochaber],

¹ This house stood at the opposite corner of Fenwick Alley and Castle Street from the foregoing, on the land which is now occupied by Leyland & Bullins' Bank. It must be remembered, however, in all these identifications of sites, that the widening of the street has completely altered Castle Street. It must also be borne in mind that Fenwick Alley is only approximately represented to-day by Brunswick Street, which is a street barely a hundred years old. Fenwick Alley ran parallel to the upper part of Brunswick Street for some way, but about fifteen yards to the north. Part of Messrs. Jas. Mawdesley & Son's shop, and part of Leyland & Bullins' Bank stand on the original site of this alley. This house cannot have been one of much importance, as Riding only paid for one chimney in 1663 taxation.

² *Gennell*—a narrow passage or alley, a word still in daily use in south-west Lancashire.

³ This horse mill seems to have stood next to William Riding's, on the south side, and consequently its exact site is about the middle of Castle Street, between the end of Brunswick Street and the doorway of the Bank of England.

Among the Moore papers are copies of some very interesting proceedings in the

an island in Scotland, was used, twenty measures of toll a week, for two years together, when malt sold for five shillings a Winchester measure. But now nine or ten measures a week, and against fairs or holidays, twenty measures a week. This remember, you have a great eye how custom rises or falls at this mill. Know every week what tenants you have that grind away and without lawful cause; make them pay for it, according to their covenants in their leases. Know who they are that grind at your mill that are none of your tenants, that if there fall an occasion into your power, you may show them a kindness. Know who they are, of any fashion, that doth not grind at your mill, and if they be not obliged by some especial obligation to them that own the mill where they grind, as by kindred or the like, I charge you never trust them, neither do them a courtesy if it lie in your power, for by that small thing you may see they will never do you any; and when all the town knows you take notice of your customers, and accordingly remember them in your civilities or disrespects, either by fair means or foul, fear or hope of reward, you will oblige most to you. Where you find a great brewer that is none of your tenant, that doth not grind with you, try if they will be your tenant

Duchy Court with reference to the rights of milling in Liverpool, dated 1587-8, in which Sir Richard Molyneux of Sefton sues Giles Brookes, John Bird, Richard Shawe, and others, for having erected "divers horse mylnes, hand mylnes, and quernes in Liverpool." A very comprehensive summary of these proceedings is to be seen in Mr. Richard Bennett's exhaustive and excellent paper on "The King's Mills of Ancient Liverpool," in vol. xlviii. of the *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Chesh.* Mr. William Moore, the writer of the Rental's *great-grandfather* (not Edward Moore, his grandfather, as stated in the text), seems to have been at the back of the proceedings alluded to above, being a sub-lessee of the Townsend Mill under Sir Richard Molyneux. It is worthy of note that the defendants in their reply allude to this horse mill of the Moores. It also appears from these pleadings that this mill was almost entirely employed in grinding malt.

for one or more lands in the field, and for the same oblige them to grind with you. But remember you set as few lands to one tenant as you can, by which you will have lands to satisfy all; and never set more houses to a tenant than one; then will you have more customers and more votes, and upon all occasions more strength by how many more tenants you have. Observe the rules above said exactly, and if ever you be mayor and a justice of peace in the county, you may very easily make this mill worth twenty measures a week, which, at a crown a measure, is five pounds a week, many of your tenants brewing thirty measures a week. Mark well the covenant in your leases for grinding at your mills; let the penalty be as high as you can agree with them.¹ Remember, there can be no more mills in town than what is already.² In my grandfather Edward Moore's time, there were two or three proud fellows set up mills; but he preferred a bill in the Duchy, showing how our windmill is the king's mill, and that tenants within Liverpool ought to grind there, because he paid a great rent: and after two hearings, it was decreed those new erected mills should be put down, and fined besides, which accordingly was put in execution, and the mills were pulled down. Query, if Mr. Bicksteth's³ mill ought to grind for any body but his own use? It were a good way to invite one day in the Christmas all that are customers to your mills, and be none of

¹ See Note 1, p. 23, and Introduction, p. 1.

² See Note 3, p. 63.

³ A Mrs. Bicksteth seems to have been the tenant of Eastham Mill (which stood near Down Street) during the Commonwealth, and the Mr. Bicksteth here alluded to may have been her son. The mill which Mr. Bicksteth worked can only have been the Eastham Mill, as the stringency with which the rights of the milling soke were enforced prevented the setting up of any more mills.

your tenants, both in this town and country. I am confident it would get both this mill and the other mills great custom. My grandfather Edw. Moore his continual allowance in the house was sixteen measures a week in malt, and sixteen measures a week of bread corn, and got it all for toll. But it was because he was the only man in these parts in all the great offices; so that all for fear or love grinded with him, and he observed exactly the rules above said. I find at Bootle mill his usual get was sixteen, eighteen, or twenty measures a week; therefore serve God and follow his example—if so, you may make your mills worth some hundreds a year, according as corn bears a price. Here belongs to this mill a vacant place to lay your dung on; it is but a very little place, therefore let the dung be carried often away, and then all your tenants thereabout who have no back sides will lay their dung there, which will be a great advantage for getting corn off those lands you keep in your own hands, or for mucking your meadowing at the Watergarth, or other fields about the town. Let your tenants know they are welcome to lay their dung there, and you expect it. One most especial thing is to have a great eye that your miller abuse not your horses; and if your custom be great, allow all winter long a bushel and a half of oats to two horses, but in the summer none, only let their grass be near the town. Have an eye that the millers purloin not your hay. Never carry more than one small load at a time, and know how long that lasts, and you will find a small load will last as long as a great one; for the millers will say a load is but a load. Remember the eye of the master makes the horse fat; and if the miller pleases not the customers, let him go.

Remember you, or some for you, keep an exact account of what you get each week, and so you may see how it comes and goes, and how you may cherish your miller. Remember your mill be always in good order, and then one horse will draw as much as two: fail not to remember this. If your custom be great then three horses, if not two horses will serve, keep one horse—[?] if you have.

BRIDGE, THOMAS.¹

This house formerly was one Mrs. Dorothy Shilvocke's, but now I leased it to this Mr. Bridge. For his character, see in this street, James Scasbricke, (Widow Heays's son,) how they two fitted me. He gave me thirty pounds fine for three lives, and was to build what he hath done, which, together with slating the house, hath cost him at least seventy pounds, so that it stands him in at least a hundred pounds, the which you may have for a fine whenever it comes out of lease, considering how he served me. There is no land belongs to it only a good back side and a pretty garden, the which garden wall lies all along a lane or alley I am now in building; so that if ever it come out of lease, you may run up pretty brick houses fronting to the alley, and making them not above eleven feet broad within, there will

¹ This house stood next to the horse mill as one goes in a southerly direction along the west side of Castle Street, and on the south side of the house a narrow lane or alley, known as Bridge's Alley, ran through to Fenwick Street, along the line of what is now the dividing wall between the Lancashire and Yorkshire Bank and Victoria Chambers; after curving slightly to the north, it ran through the middle of Heywood's Bank, and entered Fenwick Street close to the doorway of No. 9.

The Lancashire and Yorkshire Bank Buildings now stand on a portion of the garden which was at the back of this house.

remain out of the breadth of the garden pretty back sides to each house. At the south end of this house have in mind there is an alley or lane, made by all out of my own land, into Fenwick street, where I intend to have post and chains set, to let the world know this is only a passage for myself and tenants by my permission, and that I may stop it up when I please, and have in mind that I and my tenants are at the whole cost of paving it and keeping it so. I intend to get it so put into the town records, both this lane and all the other streets and places I have built, that there may never in the future be any difference between me and the town concerning them. God bless them to me and mine. Amen. Make this house rent one pound more, so then it will be thirty shillings, for I bated one pound rent in consideration of the building; therefore I would have you make it up thirty shillings a year again, and have at least eighty pounds fine too: two days' shearing, and three rent hens at Christmas; to have a cart way to his back gate but no further; vide his lease; to permit all I please passage through that alley. Lives, Elizabeth his wife, Edward his son, and Katherine his daughter. Rent, 10s.

WINDLE, RICHARD,

This fellow was base son to one Mrs. Dorothy Shelvocke, who was daughter to that Mr. Houghton which lived in Watre [Wavertree] lane. I gave him a lease of this land for nothing for the two lives of his children, but that he would resign his interest in Tho. Bridge's house, the which interest I only gave him out of courtesy, neither in regard it was Mrs.

Dorothy's mind he should have it—this was she my grandfather purchased great Carrellton¹ from. This Rich. Windle hath only the two fields called the Gorstey heys,² lying by Everton-causey, and one little meadow spot on the other side of the lane. This, if ever out of lease, I would never have you lease it, because it belongs to the Old Hall demesne, and I only leased it through necessity, to please Mrs. Dorothy. Take notice, all lands about this town will give a good rent, especially inclosed land as this is. Truly I do not know well what this is worth; but if to be fined, worth at least fifty pounds for three lives, or five pounds a year, or more; tamen query—you make your best advantage. They are no ancient tenants, neither had I one penny fine for their lives. Remember, this Richard Windle promised to build a house on the premises; if so, it would be a pretty thing. Lives, three: himself, Dorothy and Elizabeth his daughters; three rent hens at Christmas, and old rent, 8s. Remember here is one half land in Liverpool field in this lease besides what before expressed.

MONELY, JOHN,³

The tailor: a base fellow, and a knave, and his wife worse; they have abused me in several kinds. He gave me

¹ Moore owned half the Manor of Much Carleton in Le Fylde, and fourteen tenements there, besides other property.

² Everton Causeway is now approximately represented by Byrom Street and Richmond Row, and the Gorsey Heys seem to have been some way to the south, on land now bounded, roughly speaking, by Islington, Soho Street, and St. Anne Street. In the margin here is the note: "Gorsty-Hey alias Cause-Heays nere Everton Causey in Liverpool-Filds."

³ This house appears to have stood on the south side of the entrance to Bridge's Alley, therefore nearly opposite the end of what is now Cook Street.

thirteen pounds fine, and built that house besides, which cost at least a hundred pounds. This house will be worth well sixty pounds fine and one pound a year rent. He is to permit a passage to all my tenants through the passage that goes under his north end of his house; and if I please, there may be a door, allowing to each tenant in the alley a key at their own charge. Remember he is to build a kitchen on the back side. Lives: himself, Jane his wife, and Edward Formby, son of Gregory Formby of Liverpool; two rent hens at Christmas. Remember, if ever the said John Monely have occasion to change his lives, or alienate the premises, that you read what I have with my own hand endorsed on the back of the counterpane,¹ what a knave he was, and the vow I made whoever he assigned it to should have it no longer than that assignment lasted. Remember you observe this direction, and the encouragement of good tenants and the discouragement of bad. No land belongs to this house. Old rent, 10s. Remember most of all the new tenants gave bonds for the performance of their leases.

BUSHELL, WILLIAM, MR.²

This man, some fourteen years ago, was a very poor man, and had nothing but this one house and back side under me. When his wife died I gave him a life for nothing, another time I changed him a life for nothing. The old rent of this

¹ Counterpart of the lease.

² Mr. William Bushell, one of the Bailiffs, was a man who evidently prospered with the town. He originally held this house in Castle Street, the site of which is now marked by the central portion of Victoria Chambers, and from this house some long sloping fields ran down towards the river bank, fields which were bounded by

house was two pounds eight shillings; and God blessing him in the world, he had a great desire to lessen his rent, and he gave me twenty pounds in ready money fine to abate the rent but twenty shillings, which was twenty years value for three lives. Then he paid me but one pound eight shillings yearly. Not long after, he gave me twenty pounds fine for the field which now the More street is built in to be added in the lease of this house; and when it pleased God the fancy came into my head of making a street in this field of his, he would not let me have the field again without I would abate him the whole rent of this house all but two shillings a year, and let him have three lives and twenty one years in what houses he should take for himself or his friends to build upon this field. And seeing he had me at such advantage, I was forced to take but two shillings a year for this house, and grant him twenty one years after three lives in the house Mr. Birch lives in, the house Mr. Clayton lives in, and the house Capt. Nixon now lives in, which three houses he built himself; and he likewise forced me to grant the like lease to his brother Richard Bushell, and his brother-in-law Rob. Woodside. So that if ever this house come out of lease, it is most just to raise it to the old rent, two pounds eight shillings. Remember, whenever you make a new lease, you may add what covenants you please, for this Mr. Bushell was the first that ever caused me to alter

what is now Old Ropery on the north and James Street on the south, comprising within them the long gully or ditch, which Bushell used as a ropewalk (*vide* Note 1, p. 141). His holding all this tract of land, so suitable for buildings, enabled him, as Moore here relates, to make excellent terms for himself with his grasping landlord.

William Bushell was presented at the Great Port Moot Court in the year following this (1669), for "putting forthe halfe pennies without the town's licence." This token bore the inscription: obverse, WILLIAM BUSHELL OF (a unicorn); reverse, LIVERPOOL, 1668, HIS HALFE PENNY.

my leases from my old form, because he knew I was at his mercy. Remember, whatsoever come on it, you fail not to have three hens to each tenant, and for them finding to the Light Horse,¹ or other charge in that nature. In this lease is Mr. Bushell's spinning place, which he denied to grant but ten yards at the east end, although I offered him thirty pounds; so he forced me to build the bridge in Phenix street,² which cost me full that money. Remember, this very spinning place, besides the two houses at either end, will be worth forty pounds per annum, if he cover it over from one end to the other as he now intends; so that they may spin foul and fair in it dry. Remember the west end of the back side belonging to this house in the Castle street, reaches to the Fenwick street, near the bridge, upon which Mr. Bushell is to build a good house of stone answerable to the length, for height and other things, as doors, boarded floors, windows, and slates, sample to his own house near the post and chains in the More street, wherein now Capt. Nixon doth dwell. And he is likewise to build answerable of either side the bridge, to Fenwick Hall end, and Robert Worrell's house end, the which, if he should deny, and only build some poor mean structure both for height and materials, then remember you let him not join to Fenwick Hall gable end, nor Robert Worrell's gable end, nor the house which is to be built at Roger James's house end; and if he should

¹ This reference to the Light Horse is interesting as illustrating under what restrictions and subject to what charges land was held by the great landlords prior to that Act, so far-reaching in its results, and so unjust in its distribution of the burden of taxation, "The Abolition of Military Tenures," in 1660.

² The bridge in Fenwick Street, or Dry Bridge, as it was usually called, was over the gully or sunk ropewalk, which was formed by an extension eastward of what is now Old Ropery. (Note 1, p. 141.)

build independent, of himself, and join to none of these, remember that you let him break none of the battlement of the bridge, which will permit him no way into those houses; and for the house at the garden end, you may hinder him from making a way to it through Fenwick street, by building a wall of your own a foot into the street over against his wall. I only write this to let you know how you may force him, if he do build, either to do like the rest, or not to build at all.

In this lease is likewise the house at the end of the spinning place, wherein now Tho. Birch Esq.¹ lives, and thirty-five yards and four inches eastward, and in breadth eleven yards and a half, lying north and south, lying next the back side of that house. All this goes in this lease together. Remember the spinning place is to be twelve foot broad, and fourteen foot broad, if any deny the liberty

¹ Mr. Heywood in the Chetham Society's volume, "The Moore Rental," has the following note: "Thus the *ci-devant* colonel, governor and member for Liverpool, Thomas Birch, was passing the evening of his days in the scene of his former activity. He died in 1678, aged seventy, 'deaf and in dotage.'

"We refer to the *Civil War Tracts*, the *Norris Papers*, and to the *Commons' Journals*, 3rd December 1650, where Birch's services and expectations are enumerated. On July 4, 1659, there is a curious bargain made between Birch and the Commons, by which, after deducting £35 to be paid for the lead and vendible materials of the castle at Liverpool, and which money was insufficient to cover the expenses of the demolition of the castle, and is, therefore, appropriated to the State, a house within the castle, 'which, with the site, is worth £100, which by computation the demolition will amount unto,' is given to Birch on condition 'that the castle is made untenable, together with the walls and towers.' It is further ordered, that castle, dwelling-house, materials, &c., under these stipulations, be conveyed to Birch. Before this destruction could even be commenced, the very contingency which it was ordered to avert, occurred; the castle, in August, was seized by the Royalists. Nor does the complete removal of it appear to have occurred even up to William's reign; for it was then an armoury, and guarded, although dilapidated; and in the lease of the soil and site, granted by Anne, 5th March (1704), to the Corporation for fifty years, there is a license to pull down the 'remaining ruins,' as recited in the Act for building St. George's."

Birch never enjoyed, or was soon dispossessed of, this bargain.

of building on their wall. Remember there is no way into the spinning place but through a cross lane¹ which was by agreement to be left at Mr. Bushell's east end of his ground, lying next to Tho. Gallaw's house; but now the said Mr. Bushell hath inclosed the said cross lane into his back side of the house Mr. Clayton² now lives in, so that he hath no way of right into the said spinning place, but that I permit him at present a cart way by the bridge, for which passage he and his executors are to allow me and my subtenants a passage across his spinning place to the cellar dore in Fenwick Hall, or to what cellars or warehouses I or my assigns shall cause erected in Fenwick Hall back side, the wall of which cellars or warehouses shall be in the wall joining to the spinning place. If you would see more that this cross lane was to be left open, vide Mr. Bushell's lease of his second house, which is that house Mr. Clayton now lives in. In that lease the cross lane is particularly named. Remember Mr. Bushell can claim no other way by his lease, for that the passage by the bridge, which now leads into the spinning place, was in Thomas Wainwright's lease of his house for to be his back side, which said Thomas Wainwright resigned his interest there long since Mr. Bushell's lease of the spinning place was signed; so that at the time of Mr. Bushell's lease signing, there being no way, he can claim no way there; but if he will have a way, it must be through the cross lane above said, as it

¹ This cross lane which Moore so often refers to seems to have run from about two-thirds of the way down Moor Street into the spinning place, now Old Ropery, and is shown on several of the old maps of Liverpool down to the beginning of the present century. (See Plan of Liverpool.)

² Thomas Clayton, mayor of Liverpool in 1680 (*vide* Note 1, p. 115).

was always intended for his passage; yet if he permit me and my assigns a way to Fenwick Hall cellar and back side as aforesaid, in God's name let him have a way there, not else. This house in Castle street, I have set what fine and rent I would have you make it; and for the spinning place, never fine it, unless you reserve at least thirty pounds per annum rent, and then let it go in a lease by itself; so may you make this one lease into three several leases. And whereas now all is leased for two shillings a year, you may very well make two pounds eight shillings per annum of the house in Castle street, and a good fine, and raise the house Mr. Birch¹ lives in to forty shillings a year old rent, and sixty pounds fine, and either of them three rent hens, and the spinning place to a fine and thirty pounds rent a year. Thus instead of two shillings a year to me, you may have thirty-four pounds per annum and at least a hundred pounds in ready money fine, and six rent hens.

Remember as to the thirty-five yards of ground in this lease. It is now taken for a back side to the new house Mr. Clayton lives in; so that if the lives in this lease should expire before the lives in Mr. Bushell's second house, which Mr. Clayton now lives in, remember you may seize on the back side according to the yards and inches in that lease, unless you be otherwise agreed withal. Dividing your leases makes you have a greater interest, and whenever you come to fine them, you will find small things will have ten chapmen for great things one, and so consequently far more ready money. In this lease for these two houses and thirty-five

¹ In the margin of the original document is the following note: "Mr. Birch's house, thirty-five yards of ground there; query?"

yards of ground, together with the spinning place, are lives of him the said Will. Bushell, Thomas his eldest son, and Mildred his eldest daughter ; one rent hen ; old rent, 2s.

FINLOW, RICHARD.¹

His old rent was fourteen shillings a year ; this is only a house and a good back side ; I had only a small fine for it. In regard, my uncle Robert More got his mother with child, he procured me to give her this house for nothing. This Richard is her son, a very honest fellow : but when I made the Fenwick street, I took a little piece of his back side from him, which now lies to Robert Worrell's house ; and he made me give him a life or two, I know not whether, into this house, for nothing, and likewise to abate him seven shillings of his old rent, and to abate him two days' shearing ; and all this was for a little piece of his back side, the which I know he could not have set for five shillings a year ; yet you may see what you must expect from your tenants, if they find your necessities require their help. Therefore serve God, and look honestly to your own ; for there is not a foot I have had from any one of them, but they have made me pay ten times the worth of it. Here belongs to this house a fair length to the front of the Castle street,—I mean to the border stones,—to which, according to the custom of the town, you may lawfully build. Remember as to the back door, which owner, William Bushell, hath out of his house at the south end upon Richard Finlow's, is but of courtesy, by the permission of Archibald Finlow, who was

¹ This house was the next one to William Bushell's, on the west side of Castle Street as one goes in a southerly direction, and is represented to-day by that part of Castle Street which lies opposite the southernmost division of Victoria Chambers.

father to this Richard, to fetch water at the said Mr. Bushell's draw-well, near thereunto adjoining. And I have heard the said Mr. Bushell confess, that if the said Richard Finlow have ever occasion to build to the front he may, if he please, build up so far as the border stone, and join to his gable end, and stop up the way out of the back door which at present is open. This house will be worth fifty pounds fine, and to raise the rent to one pound a year. Lives in it are: him, the said Richard, John his brother, and Ann his sister; three rent hens at Easter; one day's shearing. Rent, £0, 7s. od.

BRIDGE, WIDOW,¹

A poor old woman. Her own sister, Margaret Loy, being arraigned for a witch,² confessed she was one; and when she was asked how long she had so been, replied, Since the death of her mother, who died thirty years ago; and at her decease she had nothing to leave her, and this widow Bridge, that were sisters, but her two spirits; and named them, the eldest spirit to this widow, and the other spirit to her the said Margaret Loy. God bless me and all mine from such legacies: Amen. This house is out of lease, yet for charity I permit this old woman to be in it only for the old rent; whenever she dies put her daughter out of it, for she is one of the [most] wicked, drunken, swearing, and cursing women in England, and a lewd woman besides. God bless us from her: Amen. This is a brave place to build on

¹ Probably on the site of a portion of Scottish Chambers and a portion of Mr. Dwerryhouse's shop, No. 52 Castle Street.

² The first ten years after the Restoration were prolific in witch cases.

a gallant house and a great back side. You may have one pound a year rent, three rent hens, and three days' shearing, for it; or, may be, you may lay the next house at the south end to it; and then it would be a most stately place indeed. Consider well what you do, two houses being better than one. Rent at present, £0, 13s. od.

Vide Mearser's directions, the next house to it, for more about this house's convenience.

MEARSER GILES.¹

His daughter, by name a poor widow woman. This house is out of lease; yet out of charity I suffer her to live there, and have done so this seventeen years. When she is dead, you may cause a brave house there to be built and a gallant back side; it will be worth one pound a year. Consider well whether you had best lay this and widow Bridge's house together, according as you meet with an able tenant. When you build here, come out to the border stone, according to the custom of the town. I could have had a hundred pounds for this and the next house; yet in charity I let them have it; I pray you do you so till they die. Remember the Lord God will have an account of every idle thought, much more every wicked act; and that if you do well in this life, the Lord will reward you and yours for it; and if you grind

¹ This was probably the last house in Castle Street as one goes in a southerly direction, and was on the west side of the street. Its site seems to be now occupied by Mr. Dwerryhouse, watchmaker, and the India Rubber and Gutta Percha Co. Ltd.'s premises, No. 54. At right angle to Castle Street at this point ran Castle Hill alongside the Castle moat. The drawbridge must have crossed the moat within a few yards of what are now the entrance steps of the North and South Wales Bank.

the face of the poor, the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, will revenge their cause, because they have no other to relieve them; and he will save them, not for their sakes, but his own honour. I forgive her hens and shearing. Rent at present, £0, 10s. od.

Finis Castle Stret in Liverpooll.

Dale Stret.¹

WILLIAM ECTELLSTONS.²

This house is of the gift——

LORTING, PETTER,³

Alderman. (For his character vide his name in the Juggler street, for the house late Tatlock's.) This house and a very good back side. Query: what lands in the field of Liverpool? This house is well worth one hundred pounds fine, and, to make up the old rent, two pounds a year. Fail not. Query: if the Pool ever come to be cut navigable, whether this back side may not be convenient to build on? Three days' shearing; three hens at Christmas. Remember he holds two houses more, which hath a great deal of land to them, for which he pays both hens and shearing; the one in the Juggler street, the other in Tithebarne street. (Vide them both.) In this house lives, himself, Ellen his wife, and Ellen his daughter. Remember he hath built a brave house since this lease. Rent, £1, 6s. 8d.

¹ Dale Street, so called from its leading from the centre of the town to the Dale, through which flowed the stream from the Mosslake into the Pool.

² There is a side-note here: "*Vide* Balard gift and Scole gift, and the rent."

³ Evidently this house was on the south side of the street.

LORTING, JOHN, Baly.¹

Vide his name in Old Hall street.

TARRELLTON, JONE,²

A poor widow. Her husband was drowned at Dublin, and I gave her a lease for three lives in this house for fifteen pounds, although thirty pounds was named (when I was offered sixty pounds), merely out of charity, she having many small children. This house stands in good place, and hath a brave back side; and whenever it comes out of lease, make it forty shillings, and forty pounds fine, and you use them well, more especially since they paid so little for this lease. Here is a good back side. Query, if ever the Pool be cut, whether it lie not convenient to build on? Lives in it: her, James and John her sons by George Tarrellton, deceased; three rent hens at Christmas; three days' shearing. Remember to view this house, for she lets it go down for want of repair. Old rent at present, £1.

BANKS, NICHOLAS,

A very knave; a great hunter of coneys in my warren. I bought this house of my cousin Hen. Hockenhull³ of Tranmore. This Bankes hath a lease from my cousin Huckenhull, still in being; and although I have several times offered to make him a lease from myself, and to admit him tenant, yet

¹ Bailiff in 1653.

² From the references to the Pool it is clear that this house and the next were on the south side of the street.

³ The Hockenhalls of Tranmere were a junior branch of the Hockenhalls of Prenton, who in their turn had branched off from the Hockenhalls of Hockenhull. Moore had some furious quarrels with "cousin Hockenhull."

he never comes in to me, therefore it is most just, if ever it come out, to let him know how he is none of your father's tenant by lease, but by purchase; and so you look upon him as a stranger, and raise his rent to be twenty shillings a year, and for fine thirty pounds at least. There is a long yard built downward, wherein there are at least three or four little houses of his under tenants. Remember to see, if the Pool should be made navigable, if this back side may not be to build on. For hens, query? and lives, query? Remember here is a way at the west side of this house, in mean betwixt my tenant and Mr. Sherwin's tenant. Rent at present, £0, 10s. od.

OLIVES, MR.¹

He paid me no fine, but only built this house; it hath a good back side. Remember there is room at the east end to build another good house. When this house shall fall out of lease, it may well deserve sixty pounds fine and the same rent; and then remember you take the piece of ground from it which lies to the east end, only allowing a way for both houses through; the piece of ground you take away will deserve one pound rent a year, three hens, and to have a house of one hundred pounds built thereon. But I charge you remember, before you ever lease this, to know if the intention of cutting the Pool navigable hold; for if it do, I then very well know, joining this back side and the next close of ground, upon which the great barn now stands, (being in Mr. Baly Johnson's tenement,) those two joined together will make

¹ This house probably stood on land part of which is now covered by the street called Sir Thomas Street, and part by the north-west corner of the Municipal Buildings.

compass enough to erect a brave street from the Pool into this street; this and the next close to it east are two of the greatest concernment of any land in Liverpool, if the Pool be ever made navigable. (Vide Baly Johnson's directions in Castle street.) Here is a chantry rent of — pence to be paid for this land. This Mr. Olives is an honest gentleman, but hath no children; so whoever comes to it are but strangers, and deserve to pay more. Lives: him, the said William Olives, Anne his wife, and Petter Mears, nephew to the said Anne. Six hens at Christmas; and in lieu of finding to the light horse he pays three pounds of castile soap yearly on Our Lady Day in March. Rent, £1, os. od.

JOHNSON, BALY.¹

For his character and the convenience of this place, vide Johnson Baly in Castle street; either to build three or four good houses fronting to the street, or else to join this back side with the other lying west, which is Mr. Olives's; and these two would make a most excellent street from the Pool,² if ever it be made navigable. Remember you never lease this barn and crofts with Baly Johnson's tenement in the Castle street; the barn will now give you three pounds

¹ See Note 2, p. 58, for a short sketch of Thomas Johnson, senior, Bailiff in 1663 and Mayor 1670. In his will, proved in 1700, he leaves his leasehold property in Dale Street (here referred to in the text), held under the Moores, after the payment of certain legacies, to his son Sir Thomas Johnson. The buildings begun on this piece of land by Bailie Johnson were carried out by his son, and his name is still borne by their successors. Sir Thomas Street is the only monument existing in Liverpool to a man who perhaps more than any other citizen laboured, and laboured successfully, for the good of the town at a most important crisis of its history (see Thomas Heywood's Introduction to the Norris Papers, Chetham Soc. Pub., vol. ix.).

² Moore here has a side-note: "For the barn and close in Dale Street now called the Tithebarn."

a year; and as many houses you build from the barn eastward, fronting the street, will deserve so many twenty shillings. But before you offer to build here to the street, remember to see whether it were not better to build a street to the Pool. Part of this is a little parcel of ground that old Thomas Blackmore and one Asbrocke (both notorious knaves to you and your family) hath so much troubled me, about a chantry rent of four shillings. Their allegation was, that although Oliver Fairehurst's name was in the King's Rental for such a rent; yet it was for that he was tenant to Mr. Moore for this parcel of land, that he paid it, whereupon they procured Sir Rafe Asston, a very worthy gentleman, and king's receiver in this county, to send warrants to distrain; and when the pursuivant came, with great favour he was pleased to forbear distraining, upon my promise to wait on Sir Raph, and either satisfy him why I should not pay it, or otherwise let him use his pleasure. Accordingly, the day was set that both I and Blackmore and Assbrocke should appear face to face before Sir Rafe. You must take notice those two were feoffees for Oliver Fairehurst's children, and so acted with all the vigour imaginable against me, having both of them former malice to me. When the day drew near of meeting, lest they might have forgot, I sent them both word to remember our meeting; and their answer was, they owed not Sir Raph so much service, neither would pay one penny of rent or go to him. Notwithstanding, according to my promise, I waited on Sir Raph Asston at Whaley, and took with me such ancient rentals of the chantry of Liverpool, that Sir Raph had not seen the like; and likewise took with me one Thomas Wharton, who had been a servant to my ancestors eighty

years, and at that time was my steward, being then fourscore and sixteen years of age; and I likewise took with me one William Harrison, who had been a servant fifty-six years. Have in mind, what I proved was this—first, that Fairehurst, who, they pretended, paid the rent as Mr. Moore's tenant, was never tenant to my father John Moore, neither was he ever tenant to me, although I have been master of my estate this nineteen years: so what could he pay it for us, when in truth the said Fairehurst held nothing under us; neither had my father John Moore, or myself, in all our lives, anything to do with him. It's very true this Fairehurst's grandfather was, many years ago, tenant to my grandfather, Edward Moore, for the house which Baly Johnson now holds, late Mr. Heapy's; but it falling out of lease, my father, John Moore, many years ago (at least thirty years) made a lease of the premises to one Mr. Heapy, of all that which ever Fairehurst held under his father, Edward Moore. And in all this time there was never penny demanded by the king's farmers, (or by two generations of this Fairehurst's ancestors;) but Fairehurst's father and grandfather still paid this chantry rent till now: these two fellows which had a malice to me, and were only feoffees in trust, and so, consequently, could do as the jaconapes did by the cat, having a mind to some chesnuts which were in a hot fire roasting, made use of the cat's foot to pull them out of the fire; so these two malicious fellows could make use of the poor orphan's money, under pretence of doing charity, to put me to trouble and expense. I likewise proved, by ancient rentals, neither I nor my ancestors had any more chantry land than what I duly paid for; and that my acquittances to that very day were always made in full. I

likewise proved by Thomas Wharton, for seventy years, there was never more demanded by the king's receiver than what my acquittances there expressed, and Will. Harrison, for fifty years, averred the same, having several times paid the rent themselves. We likewise proved that Fairehurst held the corner tavern next the high cross¹ in Liverpool, by lease from one Mr. Magull of Maghull, and that all the houses on both sides it were chantry land, viz., the town hall of Liverpool,² and the housing of Mr. Richard Moore of the Finch-house on the east side, so, in probability, that might be chantry land; and likewise it appeared that Fairehurst had been their tenant for many years. The truth is, this put Sir Raph Asston to much trouble, for he was pleased the most part of two days to give himself the pain of searching most of the records concerning Liverpool; and at last, upon the view of all his papers, together with serious consideration of what was proved before him, he declared himself satisfied that I, Edward Moore, nor my ancestors, neither had ever paid it or ever ought to have paid it, neither should we ever be troubled again for it; and since then it is four years, and I have been never demanded

¹ The High Cross, as has been already stated, stood about half-way between the steps leading into the present Town Hall and Agnew's front door. This corner tavern stood partly on what is now the extreme south-westerly corner of the Liverpool, London, and Globe Insurance Buildings.

² The Town Hall of Liverpool to which Moore here refers is of course not the present one, nor even the one that immediately preceded it, but the original Common Hall, which stood upon the southern portion of the present Liverpool, London, and Globe Insurance Buildings, facing the east side of the present Town Hall. Before the abolition of the Chantries and Guilds (1547), this hall was called St. Mary's Hall, and probably was the headquarters of the Liverpool Merchants' Guild, and the fact which Moore here mentions that the Town Hall was on chantry land is a strong piece of evidence in favour of such a suggestion. Three years later than this, viz. in 1671, the second Town Hall was begun. It stood in the centre of the present Castle Street, between the place where the trams stand and the present Town Hall. This was pulled down and the present one built about 1750.

it since.¹ If ever you should be troubled again, the only way were to get a commission upon view to see how the town hall joins to Fairehurst's tavern on the one side, and Mr. Richard Moore on the other side; and then I am confident they would find they are all three chantry land. Besides, this tavern pays no burgage rent, as all the whole town pays either burgage or chantry, neither pays any chief rent to any; all which is a great probability this is the very place Fairehurst pays it for; for I know no place but pays chief rent to some. Now Mr. Maghull says his deeds will show the tavern is no chantry land. I answer, there are many places which the fee reserved; and yet, by gift, a certain rent hath been bequeathed to such an altar for a singing priest, there for ever, as in Liverpool many were.

GARDINER, WILLIAM,²

A very honest man; but his wife is an odd kind of cunning woman; will never pay rent or hens, but hath several times cozened me; therefore make her pay the rent at the day, otherwise she will swear she hath paid you. He gave me no fine for this house, but only to build a house there

¹ A side-note of Moore's occurs here as follows: "This barn and field pays me nothing, all being in Mr. Baly Johnson's lease. Remember to divide them whenever they fall out of lease."

² To this house lay a "fine close of land," which is probably the one in which Moore recommended his son to build a second mill (see p. 93). In the Town Records, date Nov. 1, 1676, it is ordered "that entry be made forthwith" upon "the house at Dale street end in possession of William Gardner." The house probably stood close to the Dale Street Bridge, at the corner of what is now Byrom Street. It seems to have stood separate from Dale Street in some way—possibly it was across the Bridge at the foot of what is now William Brown Street—for, when the town was divided into five wards in 1667, the third of these was, "Dale Street, Henry Fazakerley's house on the Heath, William Gardner's house, and Tythbarne Lane" [*i.e.* Cheapside].

which hath cost him one hundred pounds. Raise this house to thirty shillings a year, and forty pounds fine; this is too little by far, were he not an honest man; otherwise it deserves sixty pounds, and forty shillings rent. He pays three days' shearing and three rent hens. To this house belongs a fine close of ground lying just on the back side of the house. Fail not to make it thirty shillings per annum at least and forty pounds fine. Lives: him, the said Will. Gardiner, Elizabeth his wife, and Dorcas his daughter. Rent, 10s.

Remember to cause him to build from the north end to the gate, or to make a stone wall, lest the town in time claim that piece of waste ground to be theirs.

WIND MILLE.¹

This you hold in fee farm of the king at the rent of thirty shillings a year, which, considering that your ancestors built it, and are forced to keep a carrier, the which is a man and a horse, charges more than ordinary, which, together with the daily repairs and casualties, is as much near as the mill is worth, or more, had not you so many tenants of your own, which are great bread bakers, and are bound to grind with you at some of your mills. In former times there was never any carrier, and then it was as good a windmill as most in the county; but since Mr. Crosse set his windmill to tenants, they, to get custom, set up the device of a carrier, and we, to keep custom, were forced to have one too; so that if ever you could buy Mr. Crosse's mill, you need keep no carrier;

¹ As to the exact site of this mill a good deal of controversy has taken place, the usually accepted theory being that the site is marked by the Steble Fountain opposite the Walker Art Gallery.

for this reason, you must know they must then either grind with you or be without.¹ Remember there can never any more mills be erected within the manor of Liverpool, but what are now in being ; for this reason, yours is the king's mill, and you pay him a great rent ; and are at the charges of at least twelve pounds per annum upon the maintenance of a man and a horse for carrying, and at least five pounds per annum of repairs, and nine pounds per annum board wages for a miller, which, in all, amounts to twenty-seven pounds ten shillings per annum, that must go in ready money out of purse yearly : besides, if a casualty by a stress of wind come, which often falls out, the mill may be damnified ten, twenty, thirty, forty, or more, of pounds. Upon these considerations my grandfather, as he was tenant to the king's mill, preferred his bill in the duchy against one both of whom erected horse mills in the town ; but after a great suit,² and several full hearings on both sides, there was a decree made in the duchy, that as he was the king's farmer within the king's manor, there ought to be no private mills, and those who erected them were fined, and both the mills pulled down. Now, of late Capt. Fazakerley hath erected a mill in the castle, which he pretends is not in the liberty of the town. Query, if you may put it down, since it is none of the king's mill, nor pays him no rent ? or query, how there might be an order made in the mayor's court, to see who doth suit at the king's mill ? and so to procure an order, the tenants belonging to the king may not go from the king's mills out of the liberty of the town.

¹ For an account of the milling soke in Liverpool, see p. xlix.

² A number of documents referring to this suit are among the Moore papers, and contain a great quantity of interesting matter (*vide* Note 3, p. 63).

Remember one other thing of great concernment: within the memory of man, the Lord Mullinex hath erected two water mills in Toxteth park, and raised dams for them within his said park; and since these late wars, hath laid the water over and upon the moss or turf room belonging to me and my ancestors for many hundreds of years, which moss lies within the liberties of Liverpool; but the times growing peaceable, and I intending to get and dig for turfs, as all my ancestors have done, I could not get the said turf by reason the Lord Mullinex caused his millers to lay their dams upon my moss in a great height; whereupon I caused one to scour an old ditch,¹ over which there is a great stone plate, that hath for many hundreds of years been the usual water-course to take the water off my firing; and when they had opened the old water-course, the Lord Mullinex sent me a threatening letter, how Liverpool heath was all his, and this ditch was made upon the heath, and he would command his tenants in Toxteth park to come and put it all in again; whereupon, considering it was just at the king's restoration, so that all those red-letter men were so high, and that the chancellor of the duchy was the Lord Seymour, near a-kin to him upon the account of his eldest brother, she being a Seymour; and likewise, by the

¹ This stream, rising in the Mosslake, flowed in a north-westerly direction, and crossed "the highway" (*i.e.* now Prescott Street) somewhere near the junction of Moss Street, Daulby Street, and Boundary Place, at which spot apparently this "great stone plate" formed a bridge for the roadway over the brook. Continuing in the same direction, it crossed the modern Byrom Street near the point where Richmond Row joins it. The stream, before quite reaching this point, ran through a little valley, known for centuries as Eastham, or Everston, Mill Dale. After crossing Byrom Street, it turned abruptly in a southerly direction, and ran parallel with and a little to the west of Byrom Street, and emptied itself into the head of the Pool at the Dale Street end of Old Haymarket.

same lady, the lord treasurer of England was his brother-in-law; all which considered, made me sit down with this great wrong, yet not the first by many that family¹ hath done us, and to be contented with less fires, till it shall please God to raise me a greater interest and him a weaker; and then, if an opportunity serve, to endeavour by all just and honest means to get your own right, which may be done as follows. If ever you be mayor of Liverpool, when the grand jury is chosen, I mean that jury which goes round the town for viewing all common nuisances and water-courses, then you may inform them that you hold ten acres of moss under the broad seal of England, out of which your ancestors have usually gotten all or most of their yearly fire; but by reason of a common water-course, over which there is an ancient plate of stone, lying in the highway to the town of Liverpool, is stopped, so that your moss is drowned; therefore you desire the jury may view it, and find whether the town (it lying in the highway) ought to open it, or that they will make an order for you to

¹ Richard Molyneux, eldest son of Sir Richard Molyneux, Bart., Viscount Molyneux of Maryborough in the Peerage of Ireland (who died 1636), was born in 1623, and married, in 1639, Henrietta Maria, second daughter of James, seventh Earl of Derby, who was born, 17th November 1630, at Chelsea. In the funeral certificates of both Viscount Molyneux and Lady Henrietta Maria, this marriage is recited, but it was never consummated, though as late as July 1650 the bridegroom was endeavouring to get the contract fulfilled (Cal. Dom. State Papers). Lord Molyneux subsequently married (28th Oct. 1652) Lady Frances Seymour, eldest daughter of William, Marquis of Hertford, on whom the restored dukedom of Somerset was afterwards conferred, whose second wife, Frances, was a sister of the Earl of Essex, the Parliamentary General. Lord Molyneux and Lady Frances Seymour were privately married at Essex House, in the Strand. Lord Molyneux died shortly afterwards (in 1654) and was succeeded by his brother Caryl, third Viscount Molyneux, towards whom Moore possessed the bitterest feelings. It was he who wrote Moore the "threatening letter" referred to in the text. (I am indebted for the substance of the foregoing note to R. D. Radcliffe, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.)

do it. For evidence to the jury produce those men who scoured the old ditch to swear they did but scour it, for that there had been an old ditch there before; and likewise produce the old stone plate, and them to swear they found it there, and with all the jury upon view may see it is the right course of the water for there away to fall, the other way towards the park lying higher. You may do well to get Mr. Crosse's heir to join with you, and all others who have any turf rooms there, for that this is the old and only way for drawing the water off the said moss,¹ as is most evident by a jury, the water never going the other way till those mills were made, which is in man's memory; neither did the millers of the park mills ever make a dam there; but in the time of the wars that every man did what they pleased; for since the wars one of my Lord Mullinex's tenants, by name Captain Crofts, when the millers stopped the water at the park wall, which made the water lie high on the moss, the said Captain Crofts hath usually caused his servants to open the passage, and said there was no dam to lie in his tenement, neither should there be any there; and when he opened in his tenement it drew the water off the moss, yet not half so dry as the old water-

¹ The moss or bogland known as the Mosslake is now represented by that large tract of land lying, roughly speaking, between Hope Street, Park Place, and Park Road on the west, Brownlow Hill Workhouse and part of Paddington on the north, Smithdown Lane and Lodge Lane on the east, and Croxteth Road, Devonshire Road, and South Street on the south. This bog lay on a sort of table-land, and it could and did drain both north and south; north, as described in Note 1, page 89, across Prescott Road to Richmond Row, Byrom Street, and so into the Pool; south, through Toxteth Park, along the line of Upper Warwick Street, and emptying into the river near the foot of Stanhope Street. It was the stopping up of the outflow towards the north by Lord Molyneux that so incensed Moore, and contributed the extra water to fill the Toxteth Park mill-pond.

course, over which the stone plate is. Besides there are two great reasons wherefore the town ought to keep that water-course the right and usual course, which, if otherwise, it may prejudice the town very much: the first is, there is no water-course convenient or about the town for skinners, dyers, or other such trades, as this is which makes the continual water stream which runs down the Goyt to the Pool bridge, so that if this stream should be turned, such tradesmen will have no encouragement; the second reason is, if ever the Pool be cut navigable, of necessity all such cuts wherein ships are to ride, must either have a considerable fresh stream to run continually through it or it will quickly wrick up, or else there must be convenient places for raising great dams of water to let out with flood-gates when necessity requires for cleansing of the channel; and truly God and nature hath made all the places between the Pool and the stone plate so convenient for raising excessive great dams, and that so convenient out of the way, to the prejudice of none, and then to supply these dams, so great a fresh from off the moss lake, that though my eyes may never see it, yet I am confident that God Almighty, which makes nothing in vain, hath ordained this to be the greatest good for this town. Therefore I hope the town will never lose the advantage of the water coming that way; for if they do, all they are worth cannot procure a stream to cleanse the pool, as above said. If once you are of the council, your oath obliges you to care for the good of the town; and if you be not, your interest is so involved with theirs, that take this for a warning from me, that if they prosper you must thrive, and if the town sink

you must drown: so as where a finger be cut off, the whole body feels it; so you, in your interest, being a member of that body, it can receive not the least scar either in loss or repute, but your estate or person will be damnified thereby. Therefore, in the name of God, let them love you, and you them, and twenty of the greatest men in the county cannot wrong you; but if you quarrel, you are easily broken. God bless you both. Amen. Remember that when you get this water-course opened, it will not only be so advantageous for the town, but will make your turf room so dry, that I dare assure you, you may sell fifty pounds worth at least of turf to the town in a year; for, of my knowledge, you have good black turf at least four yards deep; if so, it may be worth two hundred pounds an acre, and you have ten acres of it; in a word, you know not what it may be worth, lying so near a great town; and if you leave half a yard of the bottom ungotten, once in forty years it swells and grows again. Besides this interest of your turf, if the water be taken from off the moss lake, it will be better for your windmill by ten pounds per annum, for that it will make the park mills want water, their greatest supply being from that lake. Remember the greatest improvement I can advise you to put a hundred pounds to is, near your windmill in the close, which now William Gardiner hath, cause another windmill to be erected,¹ for you need but one carrier and one horse to them both, and a miller, and a boy of a cheap wage, of about sixteen years old: in doing so, and making the water to run the right way, you may easily

¹ At this point Moore has a marginal note—"Two mills together would bring you £20 in the £100 for the building another mill."

make your two windmills worth eighty pounds per annum, or more, for my grandfather hath formerly set this mill for twenty-seven pounds per annum; but now the carrying and the park mills take off much, so that all charges borne, and the mill kept in as good repair as I gave it them, I have now during this lease but ten pounds yearly and two bushels of wheat at Christmas for it. But if there were two mills, considering the great store of tenants you have in town, and that one carrier would serve them both, truly it is not to be thought what advantage they would bring you, especially observing the rules to your customers, which I have set down in the directions for your horse-mill: (therefore vide horse-mill in the Castle street.) Old rent of this mill is £10, and two measures of wheat yearly.

CADOCK, THOMAS,¹

This is a poor old house, but stands in a very good part of the town. I had but twelve pounds for putting in a life when there were two lives before. There belongs to this house a large back side, the which I would have you take special notice, whether the laying of the other three houses to the westward, their three back sides being all mine, that is, the two of Roger Harrison and that of Eccocs, will, I think, make a most fair plot of ground for a street to go across from thence into the Tithebarn street, throughout in land there in possession of Alderman Peter Lorting: (vide Lorting, Peter, in Tithebarn street). Query, what lands in

¹ It is difficult to decide where this house and the next three stood. Moore in his survey is evidently now coming down the north side of Dale Street, and these houses must have been to the east of Hackin's Hey. The suggested street was probably realised in Moorfields. See Note on Peter Lurting, in Tithebarn Street, p. 35.

the field of Liverpool lie hereto? The man that is my tenant, I know him not ; he lives in London ; he pays three days' shearing, three hens at Easter. Lives : him, the said Thomas Cadock, Thomas Higgison, son of George Higgison of Kerdell [Kirkdale], and Majery March, wife of Thomas March of Dublin. You may make this rent one pound a year and twenty pounds fine ; or else one pound a year rent, and bind them [to build] a new house, and give you twenty pounds fine too : but I charge you, before you set it, see for a street backward, as before. Rent now is but 10s.

HARRISON, WIDOW.

A very pretty house and an excellent back side ; if out of lease, worth full one hundred pounds fine. There is only her life in it. But I have made another lease to young Mr. Chapman and his wife, for twenty pounds. I know I might as well have given it for nothing ; but this Mr. Chapman is a very pretty merchant as ever lived in Liverpool, and hath obliged me, and I promised a favour ; and now I have done it. God send him much comfort of his new lease. When he dies you may have your own rates, because he hath no children. Make this rent two pounds a year, and fifty pounds fine, at least ; but before you lease it, I charge you see if the joining of this back side with the other three of mine, which lie on either side of this, may not be most convenient to make a street from thence into the Tithebarn street : (vide Lorting, Peter, in Tithebarn street). I am confident, with God's permission, you may make a street there. Lives in this house at present are, this old Widow Harrison, Mr. Chapman and his wife. Rent, £1, 1s. 8d.

HARRISON, WIDOW.

For the house late Asscroft's ; an indifferent house and a very good back side, and hath seven lands or more belong to it in the town field. Query, how many? Make this rent well two pounds and fifty pounds fine. But I would rather never lease any lands in the field, for these all belong to your demesne ; therefore never lease them except according to my directions. You may have for this house, without the lands, two pounds a year rent and a good fine. I charge you never lease the house and lands together. Before you lease this house see whether this back side, together with Eccos' on the west, and my other two houses on the east, be not most convenient to make a street into the Tithebarn street : (vide Peter Lorting's, in Tithebarn street). I hope you may here build a street.

ECCOS, WILLIAM,

Wine cooper ; for the house late Balshaw's (and one land is in the lower Hevilands,¹ and the half land by Estem mill² dale). It is a pretty good house and a good back side, and one land and a half in this lease ; besides he hath another lease of me for one land and a half in the Hevilands more. Make this house thirty shillings per annum and twenty pounds fine. But before you lease it, see if this back side be not convenient to join with the other three, which are my land, lying eastward from this house ; so to

¹ The Heavilands (or Heathilands, as it was often written), one of the three great Town fields of Liverpool, stretched along on either side of what is now Vauxhall Road.

² Eastham Mill Dale is now the district surrounding Circus Street and Down Street.

make a street into Petter Lorting's, in Tithebarn street : (vide Mr. Lorting's there). In this lease is only his own life ; three days' shearing, three rent hens. Old rent, 13s.

ECCOS, WILLIAM,

Wine cooper, above said ; another lease for one land and a half in the Ouldfeld.¹ Lives : himself, Elizabeth his wife, and Elizabeth his sister. Rent, 9d. ; fine, £7. This half land is but the fourth part of a land.

HACKING, JOHN.

For his character look his name in the Tithebarn street. When this falls out of lease, then fall two houses and the close in the Tithebarn street. If he die, I charge you never let his half-sister have nothing to do with it, for never was poor man so wronged as he hath been by her. Although he was his father's only son and child, by a first venter, yet his father married a second venter, and gave the whole estate during that wife's life, so that he was almost forced to beg his bread for seventeen or eighteen years ; and this half-sister still keeps this house from him, notwithstanding there is no life in it but his, and will not bate him one penny of a hundred pounds for this bare house and garden for his own life : therefore, before witness, I declared to her she must never expect any thing there than his life, although she would give a hundred pounds more than its worth, according to a note I drew up and signed (vide that note in my alphabet). Remember at the east end of this house is

¹ The Old field lay on either side of what is now Richmond Row, and with the Breck Shoot constituted one of the three Town-Fields.

the passage,¹ where, if God permit, I intend a street, so you may build all along in the garden of one side the street; and when you come so far as the croft, then build on both sides. If God bless it, there will be a great many pretty little houses for seamen; and for this main house of itself (without the croft or the two little houses in the Tithebarn street, or the barn there) will deserve one hundred pounds fine, and the same rent it now gives; and you may make the other houses leases to others by themselves: (vide Hacking's house, in Tithebarn street). Three hens at Christmas and two days' shearing. Lives: none but this John Hacking's. Rent, £2, 10s.

MORE, RICHARD, MR.,²

Of the Finch-house, and his heirs for ever, — a year's chief rent for the land and houses, sometime one — Highmought's. Vide — Highmought's deeds: you have them in keeping; they will inform you more. Rent, —.

SUGAR-HOUSE CLOSE.³

This croft stands on the left hand the Dale street, as you go out of the town, almost over against Mr. Olives's house, in this street. This croft fronts the street for some

¹ This street, which Moore here projects, was carried out shortly after this and retains the tenant's name until this day—in Hackin's Hey. The house itself stood at the south-west corner of what is now the street, and the site is marked by the corner portion of Imperial Buildings.

² This house stood next to the east of Fairhurst's tavern (see Note 1, p. 85), and on the south front of the Liverpool, London, and Globe Insurance Buildings.

³ Moore here indicates more closely than is his wont the exact position of this piece of land. It is that piece of land bounded on the south by Dale Street, on the east by Cheapside, and on the west by Hockenhall Alley, which is now occupied by Princes Buildings. It is interesting to note that this piece of land has to-day a frontage of twenty-seven yards to the street. It is not clear whether Mr. Smith ever

twenty-seven yards, and I call it the Sugar-house Close, because one Mr. Smith, a great sugar baker at London,¹ a man, as report goes, worth forty thousand pounds, came from London² on purpose to treat with me; and, according to agreement, he is to build all the front twenty-seven yards, a stately house of good hewn stone, four story high, and then to go through the same building with a large entry; and there, on the back side, to erect a house for boiling and drying sugar, otherwise called a sugar baker's house. That pile of building must be forty feet square and four stories high, all of hewn stone; then he is to take the little [house] of Richard Rogerson in Dig lane,³ and make the back way in through there; then he is to encompass all his ground with a brick wall round. If this be once done, it will bring a trade of at

completed his bargain, but he certainly started the sugar-refining business in Liverpool shortly after this, a business which was carried on for many years afterwards by his relatives the Danvers.

¹ This Mr. Smith seems to have been a Mr. Allan Smith of Battersea, a large London sugar-refiner (*vide* Dr. F. N. Macnamara's "Danvers Family," pp. 448 *et seq.*). He was in partnership with his brother-in-law, John Danvers, a son of Anthony Danvers, of Horley, co. Leicester, Esquire. Daniel Danvers, a brother of John Danvers, seems to have come to Liverpool about 1670 to manage the sugar-refining here. He quickly rose to be a very prominent citizen, and the proprietor of a large and successful business. The earliest definite information that Dr. Macnamara has been able to find with reference to his refinery locates it in Redcross Street, so that if this bargain to which Moore alludes were ever concluded, the business must soon have been moved away. Daniel Danvers married for his second wife Sarah, the daughter of John Pemberton, the apothecary of Moor Street, a leading Nonconformist (*vide* Note 1, p. 120).

² In the "Case for the Corporation of Liverpool," in relation to the making of a new parish, drawn up about 1699, is the following interesting statement: "It was formerly a small fishing town, but many people coming from London, in time of the Sickness and after the Fire, several ingenious men settled in Liverpool, which caused them to trade to the Plantations and other places, which occasioned sundry other tradesmen to come and settle there, which hath so enlarged their trade, that from scarce paying the salary of the officer of customs, it is now the third part of the trade of England" (MS. Chetham Library).

³ Now Cheapside.

least forty thousand pounds a year from the Barbadoes, which formerly this town never knew. This house, it's thought, will cost at least one thousand four hundred pounds; and whenever it comes out of lease, it will be worth to you and your heirs fifty pounds a year of a good rent, for I would never have you lease it again. But if this gentleman should not build, then I advise you to have two good houses, taking the whole front to build them on: there will be two good back sides, and you may reserve twenty shillings apiece for either, besides shearing and hens.

Finis Dale Stret in Liverpooll.

Dig Lane,¹ alias Titbbarne Lane.

ROGERSON, RICHARD.

A pretty little house, but stands in an odd place. Here is a good back side. He paid me no fine, only built the house. This house, raise it to twenty shillings rent and twenty pounds fine; I know it will give it. But if the sugar house be built, then this must lie to theirs, making a convenient way for them to come in with a cart to their back

¹ Dig Lane, now Cheapside. *Dig* is the Lancashire for *duck*, but whether this may be a hint as to the meaning of the street name I do not know. It is possible; as the north end of the lane ran out into Tithebarn Street, close to the piece of water known as "The Flashes," which may have been a resort of that useful and succulent bird. In spite of Picton's identification of Sickman's Lane as Addison Street, it is possible that Dig Lane was originally known as Sickman's Lane. In a deed among the Moore charters, dated 1361, John de Kirkdale grants to Henry Del Bonk a piece of land lying in the Dalestrete, between the lands of William del Accres on the one hand and "Secmon lane" on the other. At the same time, if the continuation of what is now known as Dale Street along the line of the modern Byrom Street was at this early date known also as Dale Street, Picton's identification may be correct.

side ; and besides, it will much enlarge their back side, which so good a house may well deserve. But if the sugar house be not built, remember, before you lease this again, here is a very convenient place at the north end of this house to build two or three pretty little houses on, and each a little back side, fronting your houses east, all to the lane. Those little houses will deserve five shillings a year apiece, two rent hens, and one day's shearing ; and them to build them. This Rogerson is an honest man ; use him well. Lives : Jane his now wife, Richard his son, and Mary his daughter. Three hens at Christmas ; no shearing. Rent, 10s.

Dig Lane, *allias* Tithbarne Lane, Finis.

Pool Lane.¹

BRADOCKE, WILLIAM,

A brick maker ; a poor honest man. He gave Baly Blundell two pounds fine for his good will, and so came to be my tenant. Here is a most convenient parcel of land, if ever the Pool be cut navigable, to build almost round it ; I mean so far as lies to the river, there being not the like place in Liverpool to the river side for cellars and warehouses. Remember, when this Bradocke erected this little brick house, the town jury came to see it ; and that the town should not be aggrieved by me, I gave them at least a foot of land all along from the south end of the building to the Pool-wards so far as my land extends ; and so it was staked out how far I should

¹ Pool Lane, now South Castle Street, running from the "back of the castle" to the Pool side.

go, by the deputy mayor for the Lord Strange,¹ Mr. John Stozaker, [Sturzaker,] and the eldest alderman, Mr. Andow, and Mr. Peter Lorting, alderman. Remember, this Bradocke is, when God makes him able, to build another handsome house, according to his lease; and this house is to be but office houses to him. Remember, I and my tenants have promised the town to keep a pavement at our charge, so far as this little house reaches in length, a convenient breadth for a footway; but the cartway, which the town is to repair, lies in the bottom. Remember that your tenant cause a wall to be made to save the ground from washing away with the sea: for this I'll aver; on the south side next the Pool, for a great way together, the tide hath taken away of my land at least eight or ten yards, so that, if ever you build a wall, you may regain what you can again of it. Remember that the fence on the north side belongs to Baly Blundell to make. For the worth of this place, I know not how to value it; for if the Pool shall ever be cut, it may be worth five hundred pounds to you; therefore be careful what you do with it.² This was bought by my father, John Moore, from Mr. William Moore, together with Jonathan Hunter's house in Water street, and a barn, now Sandiford's, late Rose's, in the Old Hall

¹ William, Lord Strange, was Mayor from November 1668 to November 1669, so that this "viewing" by the town authorities must just have taken place when Moore penned these lines.

² This house stood on the land lying between the present Litherland Alley and South Castle Street, and consequently must have been close to the spot from which the old Monk's Ferry to Birkenhead started. It is interesting to note that Moore's father bought it from William Moore of Manchester, from whom he also bought the granary of Birkenhead Priory in Water Street (see Note 1, p. 16), and at the same time. It is probable, therefore, that they had passed by sale together before, which points to this house having been the actual Ferry House of the Monks.

street: (vide Jonathan Hunter's house in Water street).
Lives: Three days' shearing, three rent hens. Old
rent, 3s. 4d.

Remember you improve your rent when it comes out of
lease; and if you could buy Baly Blundell's little parcel¹ of
ground next on the north side of it, and so wall it all in
together, you might make forty pounds per annum, with laying
coals there for the sea, there being not the like place in
Liverpool for that use. Consider well of this coaling trade,
and put it in execution.

MOORE, ROBERT,

Hath a most excellent close to build on.

JONES, RICHARD,²

The like.

LORTING, JOHN,

The like. If you could buy them all, or indeed but
the last two, then add your own close, which is now in
Alderman Lorting's hand, and you might have a little town
there built all on your own land. You might make one entire
street, to begin at the gate that goes into Alderman Lorting's
close, and then run south east directly to the Pool bridge,³

¹ Apparently the next little piece of land on the west side of Pool Lane as one goes towards the Castle, now represented by Wellington Buildings South.

² As Moore explains under "Edward Jones in Castle Street," (*q.v.*) Richard Jones bought this close from Mr. Richard Moore of the Finch House (Moore's cousin) for £40.

³ The Pool Bridge appears to have crossed the Pool some way to the east of the end of Pool Lane, probably beginning about the corner of the present South John Street and King Street. The streets recommended here by Moore were never

but remember you leave convenient land to make a street to face the Pool east, if ever it be cut, and so to make houses fronting the Pool, and their back sides to go backward till they reach the back sides of your street above said: then may you likewise cause houses to be built all up the Pool lane to the castle, and leave little back sides to them, to run eastward till they reach the back sides (on the west side) of your intended street above said. These four closes may be the greatest concern you have in England; for if the Pool be made navigable, the shipping must lie all along these closes, and the trade will be all in them from the whole town. You may have building here worth far more than twenty thousand pounds, if God send peace and prosper trade. I do not question but see this brought much to a head in my time.

LORTING, PETER,

Hath here a most excellent close to build on, which is my own land. If you begin your street, you must begin it at the gate¹ belongs to his field, and so run it to the Pool bridge, according to my directions above said, read from John Lorting's downward to this very line, and then read Peter Lorting's in Juggler Street; for this close belongs to that house. I have no rent for this close, and if it were built it might be worth near five hundred pounds per annum.

actually completed, but had they been, they would have run, the one somewhat on the lines of the present South John Street, and the other parallel with it to some extent, nearer the present Paradise Street. The alternate scheme which Moore suggests under Juggler Street (see Note 1, p. 39, and Note 1, p. 61) of running a street up and down Alderman Peter Lorting's close seems to have been carried out by his son, Sir Cleave Moore, in Cable Street.

¹ The gate belonging to this field must have been about the head of the present Lord Street. (See foregoing note.)

MEMORANDUMS.

First, if possible, to buy Baly Blundell's and the field betwixt it and the More street; it belongs to Mr. Tarrelton¹ of Egborth's [Aigburth] heirs. If you have it, you might pull down your house Mr. Allcocke built me on the Castle hill, and there have a brave coming of the street end out towards the castle; and you might pull down at the west end of Thomas Norbery's in the More street, and so make a most convenient passage from thence into the More street. This field is most convenient for you of any man in England in regard of your land lying about it as it doth. And remember, you have four butts of land goes through the field, so as no man can build, but some part must be upon your land. Ralph Ectellston pays you five groats a year for it. Remember there is another close of Mr. Tarrelton's land in this Ectellston's hand. If possible buy them both.

ECTELLSTON, [ECCLESTON,] RALPH,

For four lands, or butts, in the close called the Castle hey,² pays me five groats a year. These are the lands I pay three pence a year to the king's burgage for, as may appear by my yearly acquittances from the king's receiver. Concerning these four butts, and the close of ground they lie in, read the above said memorandums. My present rent is 1s. 8d.

Poule Lane in Liverpooll. Finis.

¹ Mr. Richard Tarlton of Aigburth seems to have died about 1648, leaving several daughters to succeed him in the property. This field of the Tarltons covered a considerable piece of land on the west of the Castle, and through which Redcross Street and James Street have since been carried.

² Moore has here a marginal note: "Castell-Heay 4 lands."

Castle Hill.¹ Castle Hay.

ECTELLSTON, RALPH,

For four lands in the Castle hey, five groats a year. These are those lands I pay three pence burgage for, according to my acquittance: vide my memorandums of Pool lane, on the other side of the leaf, concerning this field, Mr. Tarrelton's land; and do as I direct, if you can buy it. My rent at present only is 1s. 8d.

Remember, here is for ever a footway in this field, common for all the king's liege people.

ECTELLSTON, ELIZABETH,

Daughter of Edward Allcocke.

ALLCOCKE, ANNE,

Daughter of Edward Allcocke, a pretty house on the Castle hill. For more directions, read Pool lane, Mr. Tarrelton's hey. This house, make it one pound rent and thirty pounds fine, at least. Lives in it: her the said Anne, and Elizabeth Ectellston's and Ellen Ectellston's, half-sisters to the said Ann Allcocke. This I bought of my uncle Robert Moore, when it was but a dunghill place. There is a deed, livery, and seizin, and a fine likewise, at Lancaster, and bond for performance: two rent hens at Christmas. Remember, I claim the

¹ All that is left of Castle Hill is the short roadway which leads from Fenwick Street into Back Castle Street, opposite the east end of Moor Street. In Moore's time it continued through to Castle Street.

stable that old Allcocke built in the Castle hey, over against the back side of this house, to stand on part of one of the ends of my four lands. Old rent, o, 10s. o.

MEMORANDUM.

The highway belonging to this house of mine upon the Castle hill,¹ and all that row Thomas Prison [Preeson] lives in,² lies where the rubbish now is laid that was taken out of the castle trench ; and that rubbish ought to be put into the trench again, that the king's people may have passages to their houses as formerly : vide the directions concerning the castle itself.

Castle-Hill }
Castle-Heay } finis.

Moor Street.

IMPRIMIS : Have for ever in mind that the ground whereon this street and houses now stand, was a small close of ground, called the Castle Street Field, which said field I and my ancestors have for many hundreds of years enjoyed. And have in mind that every inch from the water side to the post and chains is my land. Have in mind that the passage through the said field, from the post and chains to the water side,

¹ This highway is now built over, but, as stated on the opposite page, it used to be a continuation of Moor Street up to Castle Street, coming out on the west side of Castle Street opposite the end of Harrington Street. Only on the north side were houses built at this time, the south side being the Castle Moat, out of which the rubbish had been dug, as Moore here states.

² This row of houses had evidently just been built, and ran parallel with the west side of the Castle Ditch for some distance. The name still survives in Preeson's Row.

being in some places fifteen feet broad, and in some places eighteen feet, which I now call the More street, is none of the king's highway, but only for the benefit of me and my tenants, and their assigns; and as to all other people, it is only a passage of sufferance; and to that intent I was at that great charge of setting posts, and ribbing them all with iron, and fixing there two great iron chains, the which I usually upon all occasions keep locked, thereby to keep the soil and passage absolutely in me and my heirs, that none shall go there without licence. The great reason that caused me to be thus wary, was, Capt. Fazakerley of the Castle, finding he had so convenient a way to the water side, in one year had many hundreds of loads of coals brought to the castle. But when I understood his design was to make a way for the castle down my street, I forthwith caused the post and chains erected, and made him glad to carry the coal through the Pool lane to the ships, for the town made an order he should not carry them through the Water street, to break all the pavements there; and since that he never had coals in the castle. Have in mind, likewise, that these chains and post usually upon Sundays and holidays and rain weather, keeping them locked, reserves your interest in those streets solely and entire to you and your heirs; so that a hundred years hence, if you please, you may make gates, or what other use you please, as usually you do your own inclosed land, and to hinder all but whom you please for going thereaways. I do intend to have an entail of my estate; and amongst other things, as mill dams and the like, I will have this street put in that it is my land, and free to none but whom I please, or my assigns, to go thereaway. The reason why I am so strict is two, the

first, that carts may not always break the streets to the great charge of my tenants; but those that cart, make them pay something yearly towards paving them, as many places in England do; nay this very town of Liverpool, by a late order, makes all country carts pay twopence a load towards the pavement of the streets: and if they can make such an order of the king's high way, I hope I may either make such carts who come thereaway pay, or make them go some other way. You may order those that live near the posts to keep the keys and likewise to receive the money. Have in mind that I was at the charges of above twenty pounds for spademen, besides at least a hundred days two carts a day of my tenants for carrying the rubbish away. I was glad the first time to cut at least eight feet perpendicular in the rock at the west end, and so for that height and sixteen feet broad, to drive it many yards before the workmen. And since that, I began upon the fifteenth day of October, 1668, with three carts and four fillers a day, to cleanse the street again, and they were sixteen days together, to my great cost. And notwithstanding all this, Mr. William Bushell, who is a good, ingenious man, affirms to me I must be at the charge yet of taking the street down above half a yard from one end of the street to the other, and most of all that in the growing rock, which will cost at least twenty pounds more to stone getters, besides my tenants' carts to carry it away. And have in mind, after all it is at mine and my tenants' charge to pave it and so to maintain it; and all the streets in the town but mine are at this day paved out of the town's box. Have in mind that from the water side at the west end of the More street to the post and chains at

the north end of Fenwick street, that goes into the Water street, and from thence to the post and chains at the east end of Fenwick alley, that goes into the Castle street, and from thence to the east end Bridge's alley, are all within my own liberty, and no man hath one foot within me. The second reason why I am so strict is, I find in whatsoever lies within the town's liberty, they are a thousand times more strict than any gentleman; and forthwith a jury of hot simple fellows fines you daily and hourly, either for some encroachment, the streets being dirty or not paved, and a hundred odd simple things more than I can here relate. But keeping your own interest, as afore expressed, you need not fear their fines or amercements. There is no civility or favour to be had from a multitude. Let my sad experience forewarn you never to trust them; for if you do, I dare pawn my life they deceive you. Read Alderman Andow's character, and some others I have set down, and then seriously consider of it. I have most of what I have here written, concerning the street, already under the town seal, and Mr. Michael Tarrellton's hand to it, when he was deputy mayor for the Earl of Derby.¹ But if God permit that I ever be mayor, or, if I be not, if you ever be, I charge you have a discreet paper drawn up; show how far to those post and chains my liberties reach, and how it is all my land, and how I was at charges of all, and how I and my heirs may lock it up, and a great deal more to that purpose, and how the town hath nothing there to do: vide the paper Mr. Tarrellton already set his hand and seal

¹ Mr. Michael Tarlton was mayor in 1665-6 and Lord Derby in 1666-7. He must have died shortly after, as the will of Michael Tarlton, of Liverpool, Alderman, was proved at Chester in 1668.

to—that will instruct you something; and read this direction well over. Such a thing drawn and set by order in the town's book, and you to have a copy of it under the seal of the town, will for ever, with God Almighty's blessing, keep a right understanding betwixt you and the town, the which God grant may long continue. And so long as the town and you hold closely together, your interest, as a gentleman, to countenance them before the king, privy council, or in any place or court of England, and their purse, discreetly managed, to back you, I must tell you, (my experience hath found it,) and dare tell to the face of the greatest enemy the town of Liverpool hath in England, we value their malice not of a farthing, for nothing can destroy so great a body but faction; and if so great a charterer as you should betray them, and join with any other, it is the ready way to undo you both, and make you both a prey to your common enemy. Remember old Segerston's¹ rule—who was a parliament man for Liverpool,—save him and his, together with the good town of Liverpool and theirs, and then let the noblemen kill whom they please. I charge you in the name of God never converse with any man, nor give ear to any man, nor trust any man, that desires you to join with him against the good town of Liverpool; for in so doing, beware lest his design be not to wound you through their sides. This you may boldly and truly say, the corporation and you have lived together this four hundred and odd years, and in all that time you have been in great affection one to another, and not one generation of so many hundred years

¹ Ralph Seckerston represented Liverpool in Parliament in 1563, 1571, 1572, until his death in 1580. He was mayor in 1550 and 1560.

but your ancestors have been mayors, many of them in man's memory two or three times apiece, and one Thomas de la More, in R. 2 [Richard II], was in his life twelve times mayor, as you may see by your deeds, marked accordingly. And this you may further say and of truth, which few if any of England can say of your quality, there hath not been a parliament this two hundred and fifty years, but one of your ancestors have been burgess for that town; and in man's memory, my father,¹ John Moore, my grandfather, Edward Moore, and my great grandfather, William Moore, have been parliament men. These truths considered, there is nothing like self-interest to keep all things well and a good correspondence betwixt you. For if you serve God, keep your estate in that town, and be honest to them, let your enemies do what they can, time will weather them. And when the town recollects themselves, by the several slights and perfidious actings of those whom they have otherwise empowered, they will easily find it is not a foreign interest which will, to hazard of life and fortune, stand by them. But when all is done, if they will have their town preserved, and their privileges kept inviolable, it must be by your two friendships; for if you flee from them and put your interest in the other scale, it is of that weight, of my knowledge, will bring down the balance; I mean as to matter of law, you being the greatest charterer or freeholder in the town. What I have said before is upon the public concern of the town; and if there be any private person in the town who

¹ Colonel John Moore was elected in November 1640, and represented Liverpool throughout the Long Parliament. Edward Moore represented Liverpool in the Parliament of 1625. There is no trace of William Moore having been a "parliament man," as his great-grandson here states.

hath a malice to you as to your person, I would have you, as a good Christian, to be at peace and love with them if it be possible; but if fair means will not gain them, then openly let them know you value them not, and know your own interest; so that if they either keep guns, setting dogs, nets, greyhounds, or any other such things, you or your servants may take them, according to the law. Besides, the proudest man in Liverpool cannot live there, if he go but into the town field, or indeed anywhere else about the town, but they must trespass upon you; and those that are your friends, you are able to privilege them to fish, fowl, or hunt, for three miles or more end-ways, in despite of any man in England, if God bless the king and the laws; and when wise men understand this, their own self interest will make them great with you.

BUSHELL, WILLIAM, BAILIFF,¹

For the house Mr. Birch now lives in. He never gave me penny fine; he built it. This is a very pretty house. He pays me no rent for it, because it is in the same lease with his house in the Castle street, and the spinning place, together with thirty-five yards to the eastward for a back side, go altogether in one lease, and I have but two shillings rent for them all. Whenever this lease falls, make this house in one lease by itself, and raise the rent to two pounds yearly, and sixty pounds fine, and three hens. Vide more particulars concerning this house, the spinning place, and Mr. Will. Bushell's house, in the

¹ Bailiff in 1656.

Castle street, being all in one lease. I set at large every thing concerning them in the directions of Mr. Will. Bushell's house in the Castle street, (vide Castle street). Rent, nothing. Lives the same as his in the Castle street house: vide.

SPINNING }
PLACE. } BUSHELL, WILLIAM.

This place now pays me no rent. It is worth forty pounds a year, if he slate it all over, as is intended. Whenever it falls, vide the Castle street, Mr. Will. Bushell's house there; for this being in lease with his Castle street house, I have set the full directions there, both of the spinning place and the house next above in which Mr. Birch now lives. Remember that Mr. Bushell hath no way into this place, in rigour, but through a cross lane which should have been at the west end of Thomas Gallaw's house, and this he hath now inclosed to the back side of that house of his, which now Mr. Clayton lives in. Remember I permit him a way at present by the bridge, out of courtesy, that I may have a way thereaway to the back cellar door of Fenwick Hall. Vide more my directions at large in the Castle street house, as above said, all being in one lease. Remember only this, whereas I have heard that Mr. Bushell will raise a furnace by the bridge, in a corner there, to boil his tar in; take notice he cannot do it, for it will not only be a common nuisance to Fenwick Hall, but all Fenwick street; therefore he neither can nor must do it. Lives the same as in the Castle street house: vide. Rent, nothing.

BUSHELL, WILLIAM, BAILIFF,

For the house, Mr. Clayton's.¹ He built this house,² and sets it now for sixteen pounds per annum; but I know one, when this lease is expired, being to Mr. Clayton for five years, will give him twenty pounds per annum. He only pays me two shillings old rent for it. Whenever it falls, let the old rent be raised to three pounds a year at least. Remember here is a place at the west end to erect a goodly house on, it being as good a place as is in the town to build a house on; besides, it will set forth the street very much, in filling that vacancy. You may have forty to build there, it is so convenient; and reserve one pound a year old rent. The fine of this house will be worth a hundred and fifty pounds, and three pounds yearly old rent, at least. Remember he had three lives in the field this house stands on, and I was glad to give him twenty-one years after, to give me the remainder of the close upon which I have now built this street. He pays one rent hen at Christmas. In this lease he hath in length thirty-three yards and four inches, beginning to measure from the water side wall. Remember to query if part of the back side, which ought to be thirty-five yards in length by my lease, lying to the house Mr. Birch now lives in, do not now lie to Mr. Clayton's back side of this house; and if so, when the house Mr. Birch lives in shall fall out

¹ "Mr. Clayton" seems to have been either Mr. Thomas or Mr. William Clayton, both of whom filled the civic chair, William in 1689 and Thomas in 1680. They were sons of Robert Clayton, of Fullwood, co. Lancaster, who came to Liverpool about 1660, and died shortly afterwards. Mr. William Clayton represented the borough in six Parliaments, according to his monumental inscription in St. Nicholas'.

² There is a marginal note here: "His great house next the water, Mr. Clayton lives there."

of lease, then part of this back side will likewise fall out of lease. Remember, in this lease is the Cross lane¹ named to lie open, that is, measure from the stone wall west forty-three yards and four inches, and at the end of that there must be a cross land, which now Mr. Bushell hath inclosed with his back side of this house. Remember, if it lay open, it would be very advantageous, for these following reasons: first, Mr. Gallaway would build a hundred or two of pounds more in his yard for warehouses, and little houses for his own seamen; secondly, it would make a brave way into the spinning place, that as the houses fall out of lease to you, I am confident you might have building in all their back sides fronting to the said spinning place, and then, before your intentions [be] known, for under two hundred pounds may you buy one half of each of those crofts, which but [abut] all along upon the north side of the spinning place, and so make the place, which now they spin in, the street.² This with two hundred pounds may be compassed, and then you may have a street there worth many thousands of pounds. But remember you let the way by the bridge lie to the spinning place too; if it should be a street, it would make it far more convenient. But if ever you think to do this, trust nobody but yourself, and then you may most easily bring it to pass. Remember that if ever any difference should happen concerning any of these houses in this lease of Mr. Bushell's, he has the

¹ This Cross Lane is to be seen in the plan. It was about a third of the way up Moor Street on the north side, and led into what is now Old Ropery.

² The recommendations here given by Moore were carried out shortly after this, thus converting the "spinning-place" into a street, which is still known as Old Ropery.

original articles for the selling out of the whole street : vide them in this lease. Lives in this lease are: Matthew Bushell, second son of William Bushell, Anne Bushell, his second daughter, and Emy Bushell, his third daughter. Old rent, 2s.

Vide the vacant place in Fenwick street, upon the west side next the bridge, to prove at large there is no way into the spinning place but through the cross lane, which is now made up by Mr. Bushell.

GALLAWAY, THOMAS,

Owner; the [most] troublesome fellow I ever met with. It's true he hath built a very excellent good house, and it hath been built this three years, and hath no lease of it. The reason is, I promised to let him have three lives in it as he should name, and nothing will serve him but he will have my two eldest sons' lives;¹ so I refuse it, and am resolved, if it cost me a hundred pounds in suit, not to grant it; and if by the law he can force me to it, then I am resolved to grant a lease of reversion of twenty-one years to my second son's children, if he have any, if not, to my third; so that his shall never enjoy it after their lease is expired. This fellow's wrangling already hath done me more harm than ever he is able to make me satisfaction. His base tongue, when in truth I never did him wrong, hath hindered me several houses building, and taken my good name away what in him lay. If it lie in your power, read this to him; and remember you make him pay three

¹ Had Moore agreed to this suggestion, he would have profited by it, as his two sons died shortly after this, and the lease would consequently have fallen in to him.

pounds old rent yearly, and a hundred pounds fine at least, or else never let him have it; this will encourage good tenants, and make such knaves as him afraid how they abuse their landlords, that never did them the least injury.

GARDINER, WILLIAM, BAILIFF,¹

A very honest man. He paid no fine, only built the house: it is a very good house. Let the old rent be raised to forty shillings per annum, and the fine sixty pounds. Remember, to this house I found him one gable end, which cost me six pounds. Two rent hens at Christmas. Lives: Thomas and Hugh, sons of him the said Will., and Esther Gardiner, his daughter. Take notice, the rent will not pay the use of my six pounds laid out of purse. Rent, 6s. 8d.

WAYNEWRIGHT, THOMAS,

A very honest man. He paid no fine, only built the house. Let the old rent be raised to two pounds, and fifty pounds fine at least; for I gave him twelve pounds in building two gable ends, so that the rent will not come to near the use of my money; two rent hens at Christmas. Lives: the said Thomas, Katherine, his wife, and Margaret Waineright, their daughter. Old rent at present, 0, 10s. 0.

Memd., the rent of ten shillings and two hens is by an agreement on the back of the lease. 0, 10s. 0.

SCASBRICKS, THOMAS,

An honest man. A good house. Make the old rent 40s. a year, and the fine fifty pounds. Two rent hens Christmas. Lives —.

¹ Elected Bailiff 1662.

PEMBERTON, JOHN,¹

The apothecary, a base ill-contrived fellow. This man wronged this street five hundred pounds, for he being the first house on that side going up, all the rest of the street engaged to build uniform with him, so that had he built four stories, all the street had been so, and the houses towards the lower end of the street had been six stories high, to have made them level with his of four stories, in regard of the fall of the ground. I used all the civil means possible to get him to build higher ; and when I saw he would not, I sent Alderman Andow, and the town clerk, Mr. John Winstanley, to let him know that, as we had always been friends, I desired the same continuance, and if he would not build it two stories higher, I would, all of my own cost and charge ; but he positively denied me, and said he would not have it built an inch higher, his wife being the sole woman against it, whom I had never disobliged in all my life. Nay, Tho. Scasbrick, the next neighbour, would out of his own purse have given fifty shillings for to have had

¹ John Pemberton was a leading Nonconformist in the town, and one of the seven Common Councilmen who were removed from their office for refusing to take the oath in 1662. He was presented at the Great Port Moot Court in 1669, together with several others, "for puttinge forth halfe-penys without the town's lycence," and fined 40s. A few specimens of this token are still extant. It bears on one side a rude representation of the apothecary's badge, St. George and the Dragon on a shield, and round it the legend, IOHN PEMBERTON ; on the other side, round the edge, IN LIVERPOOLE 1666 ; and in the centre, HIS HALF PENY.

John Pemberton in his will, dated 23rd February 1702-3, leaves a good deal of real estate in Liverpool and elsewhere to his wife and children. His son John appears to have become a prominent citizen and wealthy merchant. He had, in addition to his sons, several daughters. Elizabeth married William Basnett, of Liverpool, a member, probably, of the Chester family of that name, and possibly a relative of the Rev. Christopher Basnett, one of the first Nonconformist ministers settled in Liverpool ; his daughter Sarah, who is mentioned here as one of the lives in this lease, married Daniel Danvers, of Liverpool, sugar-baker, another leading Nonconformist. (See the Note on the Sugar-House Close, p. 99.) The will was proved at Chester, 25th October 1705 (*vide* "The Memorials of the Danvers Family," by Dr. F. N. Macnamara).

him gone but one foot higher, thereby to have made his upper story something like ; the fall of the ground, with Mr. Pemberton's foot, would have made his above two foot ; but his refusal spoiled Thomas Scasbrick's upper room, so that one must creep that goes into it. Most of the town judge him beside his wits to deny so civil a notion, and thereby to spoil a fair street, and to get the dislike of his landlord. He replied, he cared not. In all this I showed not the least dislike, only said he was a hard man. Not long after, he being in my company in the street, and we were looking up at the house, one of the company demanded of him his reason why he had such a strange kind of glazing in the windows, neither head nor foot in them for matter of order ; to which, in my hearing, he answered, the house was built in crosses, and he would do every thing that belong to it in the cross. It pleased God, within a month, two of his children, and indeed all he had, died, both in a fortnight or less ; then self interest began to make him recollect his wits ; and to a friend of mine, began to blame his wife's ill counsel, by which I perceived it proceeded from a faction that had a desire to damnify the street, what lay in them, since the street was in building. In three or four of the houses are lives dead, and I freely renewed others for nothing ; whereupon this impudent fellow made the same request to me, but I denied him, and I hope you will do the same. Make this old rent at least three pounds, and a good sharp fine. Lives : his own, Elizabeth his wife, and Sarah¹ his daughter ; two rent hens and ten shillings yearly, by an agreement on the back of his lease. Old rent at present, 10s.

¹ Subsequently second wife of Daniel Danvers, of Liverpool, sugar-baker.

BUSHELL, WILLIAM, BAILIFF,

For the house now Captain Nickson lives in. He built it; only remember I built him two gable ends, which cost me twelve pounds; that will, before the house come out of lease, be an ought [enough] to buy it. I only mention this, that you may in reason and conscience demand a greater fine and rent. Make this rent three pounds a year, and eighty pounds. My cousin Chisnell¹ offered thirteen pounds a year, for seven years together, for this house; but he could not get one Mrs. Cooke out of the parlour, and so my cousin went without it. He pays but one hen at Christmas; make it three hens as others be. Lives: Anne Bushell his second daughter, Christopher Brokbanke, third son of Christopher Brokbanke deceased, and Anne wife of the said William Bushell. Rent at present, 2s.

OWEN, JOHN, BAILIFF.²

A very good house; but he pays me not one penny rent for it, having this house, and another in the Chapel street, with twenty-one lands and a half, all in the lease of his great house in the Water street: vide both his Water street and Chapel street houses. Remember, whenever they come out, lease these three houses to three several people; and for the twenty-one lands and a half, lay to your demesne of the Old Hall, as formerly they did. This Mr. Owen hath near forty pounds a year, and pays you no old rent to speak of. Make this house forty shillings a year rent, and thirty pounds fine; but if to a stranger, much more. He neither pays you hens, rent, nor

¹ For once Edward Moore correctly describes the relationship; he was a full cousin. Edward Moore's aunt, — Rigby (his mother's sister), married Edward Chisenhall of Chisenhall, Esquire, and this was no doubt their son.

² Elected Bailiff 1658.

boons for it. Lives in it, and all the rest of the houses and land above said, only Anne Owen, wife to the said John.

DOWNES, ELIZABETH,
MEARSER, MARGARET.

A joint lease for their two lives and one Mary Knot, spinster. They built it. I gave them two gable ends, which saved them ten pounds at least. Three rent hens at Christmas and three days' shearing. Make this rent one pound a year and ten pounds fine, because they are but poor people. The old rent at present is but 4s.

HARDMAN, DOROTHY,

(This lease is made to Alderman Andow, in trust for the orphans,) to enjoy this house during her life; then to go to her first husband's children, by name John Thomson and Ellen Thomson, children of John Thomson deceased. Make this rent one pound, and ten pounds fine. They are orphans; be good to them; but if they should die, so that some others would have it, take at least thirty pounds fine, and one pound yearly rent. They pay now three rent hens at Christmas, three days' shearing, and old rent, 4s.

JOHNSON, WILLIAM.

He built this house. They are but poor; therefore take the same rent and fine as in Dorothy Hardman's, next above said; but if to a stranger, the like to hers also. Lives at present in this, is him the said William Johnson, Katherine his wife, and John Thomson, son of John Thomson

deceased. Rent hens now, three at Christmas, and three days' shearing. Old rent, 4s.

BALLE, EDMUND.

He built this house. Make it one pound rent, and ten pounds, to him or his ; otherwise, to a stranger make it thirty pounds fine and the rent above said. They pay now three rent hens at Christmas and three days' shearing. Lives in this house : Ellinor, wife of the said Edmund Balle, Richard his son, and Elizabeth Garise, daughter of John Garise, late of Liverpool, deceased. Old rent, 4s.

JOHNSON, ROBERT,

An arrant knave, one that grinds from my mill very often. He hath played me twenty slippery tricks ; trust him not. Make him pay one pound rent and ten pounds fine, for he is but a poor knave, and mercy must be had to his children ; only, for being such a knave, make him to slate his house, as the whole street is besides himself. He pays at present, three hens at Christmas, three days' shearing. His lives are, John his son, and Ellen and Elizabeth Johnson, daughters of the said Robert Johnson. Old rent, 4s.

VACANT GROUND TO BUILD.¹

Have in mind that here is, at the east end of Robert Johnson's house, a most excellent place to build a good house of. For all things concerning of it, look in Giles Mercer's and Widow Bridge's, in Castle street.

¹ This must have been close to the Castle Hill. See Note 1, p. 78.

THE WELL IN MORE STREET.¹

It cost me about six pounds the sinking of it, for I did it all of my own cost and charges, not one contributing one penny towards it. When first I caused the place set upon, where I intended to sink, several people behind my back laughed and jeered at me, that I would offer to sink for water upon the very top of an hill, and more especially for that they said the Castle trench being so deep, would hinder me from finding water, unless I caused it gone an excessive deepness. Notwithstanding, I made the sinkers of the well continue on their work, desiring of God, privately, if it pleased him, I might find convenient water there. And I pray you mark the event. Whereas many, or most of the wells in the Water street, are above twenty yards deep, it pleased God to send me there water at fourteen yards; and whereas there is a great number of draw wells in the town, most of them are so brackish or salt, as it is conceived by some vein in the earth that conveys the sea into it, so that it spoils their ale, that strangers complain of a saltish taste; now my well hath nothing in the least of that saltishness, for I have heard two or three of my own tenants confess that this water, with four measures of malt, will make stronger and better ale than most of the draw wells in town shall do with five measures, in regard of their saltish-

¹ The method of supplying water to the town at this time, and for over a century later, was the ancient one of each street, or part of a street, sinking its own well. About 1740 a scheme was partly completed for bringing a portion of the town's supply from the Moss Lake, but it was not until quite the end of the eighteenth century that anything like an adequate supply was found. The most important well at the time of the writing of this work was, as Moore here states, the Fall-Wall Well, which was situated on land now covered by the Court Theatre. During the recent alteration at that theatre the site of this well was laid bare.

ness. Besides, which is more than all this, whereas there are several scores of wells about the town, and great store of other water plenty, yet none of it was ever known to bear soap, so as to wash with it; but the whole town in general sends to a place called the Fall-wall well, a quarter of a mile near upon off the town, for each drop of water they wash with, or boil pease withal, so that it is a great part of a servant's labour to some houses for the bringing water from thence to use in their occasions. But blessed be the Lord God, this great trouble in part he hath freed most of the new tenants in More street from; for this new well water boils pease as well as any water of England, and likewise bears soap very well, so that most thereabouts wash their clothes therewith. And another observable thing besides: most of the wells about the town, in the summer time, if any stress for brewing be laid to them, are dry. But this well serves all More street till they can make wells of their own; and many of the townspeople come to it besides; and in reason there is water for them all, far above the springs of other wells. Besides all these things, I can assure you this very water proving so good, and such plenty of it, did very much encourage my new tenants thereabouts, and hearten others to come to build there. Wherefore I charge you, in the name of God, that whenever you read this, whoever thou art of my name and blood, give God thanks in a particular manner for sending this spring to me, that am many years ago dead and rotten; and I charge you, in Christ's name, own it as his immediate gift, and desire of him to continue it to you and yours for ever, and that there may never want one of your posterity to be owners of the same, to God's

glory and their comforts. Amen, amen, amen. Remember I was at the charge of building the wall about it; I paid near seven pounds sterling for it.¹ If you think convenient, you may build a room over the well, leaving it six feet high, for the maids to come about it. All the materials above ground the tenants contributed to, as rope, bucket, turn, and the like, and will so continue.

MONELEY, JOHN,

The seaman; a petty house. I gave him one gable end for nothing. Remember this man and his wife were just like Mr. Pemberton; for when I saw they would not build the same height as Katherine Rose, the next house at the west end, I by some friend freely offered to be at charges of building it another story, for to have made it the same height as Mrs. Rose's house they joined to: and yet these people were so wilful and base, they would neither build it themselves nor let me do it. Therefore I charge you, if ever they have any occasion to use you, deal not with them till they have taken down their roof of their house, and built the same height as Mrs. Rose's house, the same Owner Prison was forced to do at his own house; and as I am informed, he was their only counsellor to hinder them from building higher. This house, make the rent thirty shillings a year, and fifty pounds fine; hens, three at Christmas. Lives: himself, Elizabeth his wife, and Ame, daughter of Robert Mearser. Present rent, 4s.

¹ The following note from the Town Records refers to this:—

“1666, Oct. 22.—At the Port Moot Court.

“Wee order M^r Moore of Banckhall to cause a wall to be made about the well in the Moore S^t on payne of xx^s.”

ROSE, MRS.,

Now married to one Diggles, a glazier. Both he and she have been extremely unthankful to me, and abused me much behind my back; therefore never let him glaze for you; and if ever he have occasion to use you, deal with him accordingly. His bad report hath hindered me of two or three houses. This fellow he was a stranger, and by my countenance I got him much custom, and she, out of my own good will I paid six pounds for a gable end when she had neither money nor credit to have built it; and ill words is all I get for my pains. But God reward them. Make them pay thirty shillings rent, and thirty pounds fine at least. Hens, two.

MONELEY, JOHN,

Owner; an honest man and a better woman. He gave me seventy pounds odd money for building this house, and thereupon I undertook it, but lost at least thirty-five pounds by it; so it will be most just for you to demand a greater fine. Let the old rent be forty shillings, and sixty pounds fine at least. Of my knowledge he was offered twelve pounds ten shillings a year, and refused it.

WAID, ROBERT.

This man should have built two dormer windows, as others did; but when he had got me fast, and he was loose, he would build none, but made the house like a barn, much to the disparagement of the street. If he have any occasion to use you, deal not with him till he hath made two dormer windows. Let the old rent be thirty shillings, and forty pounds fine, and to make those two dormer windows. What he now pays is two rent hens at Christmas. Lives: him the said

Robert, Anne his wife, and Rich. Coppoll, son of Thomas Coppoll of Liverpool. Present rent, 4s.

TORNER, ROBERT,

Mason ; a pretty house, and an honest man, but is so drunken that will be undone. Let it be thirty shillings rent, and forty pounds fine, as the other above is. I gave him one gable end, that saved him at least six pounds. What he now pays is two rent hens at Christmas. Lives : himself, Susan his wife, and John Tarrellton, second son to George Tarrellton of Hallwood ; and rent, 3s.

NARBURY, THOMAS.¹

A very honest man, and built a good house, and is so well pleased with his landlord that he intends to lay out two hundred and fifty pounds more under me in building. Make this house forty shillings rent, and eighty pounds fine, so you use him reasonably, for if a stranger had it, it deserves at least forty pounds more in the fine. What he now pays is only two rent hens. Lives : himself, Anne his wife, and Mary, daughter of John Hayes, of Ormskirk. Rent, 10s.

ALLIN, PETER,²

A blacksmith, a very honest man ; hath built a pretty house. Remember, here is a good place at the end to build

¹ Thomas Norbury appears to have been churchwarden of St. Nicholas' in 1667 (see Picton's Municipal Records, p. 269). His wife Anne was buried at St. Nicholas', 12th June 1668, and he followed her himself on 11th April 1671 (Peet's Register of St. Nicholas').

² This house must have stood close to the junction of Fenwick Street and Moor Street, as the following extract from the Town Records shows :—

"1677, Aug. 13.—Wee present Sir Edward Moore or his tenants for inroaching on the town's waste at the end of the Castle Hill by building thereon part of a house wherein Peter Allin doth live, and the house called Dicconson's house."

a good house or two ; vide Widow Bridge's and Giles Merser's, concerning it and the vacant place next Rob. Johnson's ; for, but that I forgot, these directions of Peter Allin should have stood next to Robert Johnson's, because the two join together. This house deserves thirty pounds fine, and thirty shillings rent. What he now pays is only three rent hens at Easter. Lives : himself, Ellen his wife, and Elizabeth their daughter. Old rent, 4s.

BUSHELL, RICHARD.

Both he and she very honest people ; use them well. Make the old rent forty shillings a year ; and whereas it deserves a hundred pounds fine, bate them fifty pounds for their honesty to their landlord. Remember, there is an excellent place to the westward of this house, in the street, wherein you must not fail to have another house built, which will deserve one pound a year rent, and be a great ornament to the street. What he now pays is one rent hen at Christmas. Lives : himself, Jane his wife, and Thomas their eldest son. Remember, this house is worth at least fifteen pounds a year. Old rent, 2s.

Read Mr. William Bushell's for his house in Castle street, and there you will see how this ground came to be leased so cheap.

WOODSIDE, ROBERT,

A good honest man, of a Scot, but his wife is as ungrateful a beast as is in England, never having a good word either for me or my wife ; and notwithstanding this, I freely

gave her a life for nothing, what at three years' value comes to sixty pounds, notwithstanding she will speak as ill of me as if I were never so bad. Considering all this, you may well have ten pounds a year rent, and a hundred pounds fine, that is half rack, and ten years' value for the other ten pounds. What they pay now is but one rent hen. Lives: him the said Robert, Alice, his wife, and Christopher their eldest son. Vide Mr. Will. Bushell's house in Castle street, why they are so cheap rented, and why they have such leases. Rent at present, 2s.

Remember, at the west end might be made a most rare custom house. Read the following directions of that vacant place : vide ut sequitur.

THE VACANT PLACE AT MORE STREET END,
next the river side.

Here, for two hundred pounds, you may wall in a place from the sea, and build a custom house there.¹ It would draw all the custom of the town into this street, and make your houses that are now but at ten pounds a year rise to twenty pounds per annum. To effect this, agree with some of the customers, and give them a lease and twenty-one years after, and let them do it upon the king's account, because there is no king's custom house in this town. And

¹ There was no Custom House in the town at this time, part of the old Town Hall in Juggler Street being used for this purpose. When the old Town Hall was superseded by the new building in Castle Street, in 1673, the Custom House appears to have been moved to Moor Street for a short time, though not to the site here indicated by Moore. About 1680 it was again moved to a site at the foot of Water Street, opposite the Tower, and in 1720 a new Customs House was built at the head of the Old Dock, close to the site of what is now the Sailors' Home.

whosoever is collector, may live in it, either at a great or at a small rent, during the lease from you. When the wall is made, my tenants, who are now leading all their rubbish to the water side, will fill the wall up with earth for nothing, which otherwise to get earth to fill it would cost a hundred and fifty pounds. Remember, whenever this is done, you must make a passage for horseman and carts next the street end; for if you put the way beyond the wall towards the sea, at three quarter flood nobody can pass that way, and that will not be suffered. If ever you be great at court, it may, with the help of the farmers of the customs, be easily procured, when the king by them is given to understand the great want of a custom house in such an eminent port as Liverpool. Query how far your land goes seaward—be careful of that; yet I think nobody will question that; for it is usual to get of the sea, over against a man's own land, what he can.¹ But query the law in that case. It is but a river, and not the sea, and so will not come within the king's prerogative, nor the admiral's. It is the river of Mersey ten miles farther to the red stones, as may appear by records in the town, and Liverpool charter, in both which it is termed the river of Mersey ten miles farther towards the sea, to a place called the Red Stones,² which said stones are the bounds betwixt the two rivers of Mersey and Dee, that goes to Chester. Besides, I have seen a deed out of the records

¹ In the margin is the following note: "Post and chains, Remember to set post and chains at this end, as it is at the other end of this street, next the castle, to keep your privilege. Vide the beginning of More street more concerning this."

² The Red Stones in Hoylake at the point where the coast-line turns to go up the Dee bank.

in the Tower, dated in Edward the Third's time, concerning the manor of Great Crosby. And there it is said, Great Crosby lying upon the river of Mersey; so that the river goes beyond Great Crosby, which is several miles seaward of Liverpool. I only give you a hint how this is but a river, whereby a private interest may be greater as to the gaining of the river than otherwise. Remember that for all the soil over against my sea bank, from Mrs. Horton's house to the town field, I have in my grant under the broad seal of England, from high water mark to low water mark, so that is as absolutely your own as any land you have: vide my directions of the sea bank in Chapel street. Have in mind I have already been twice at the charge of cutting into the rock some yards, to make it a passage, to my cost at least twenty pounds, besides my tenants' carts for ten weeks together, two and three carts a day; and it will yet be a great charge to make it fit to pave, for I must cause it fallen near three quarters of a yard, the whole length and breadth of the street, and the greatest part of all that will be in the growing rock. Have in mind, then, my tenants are all engaged to pave it at their own cost and charge, and so to keep it, with the chains locked every night and day, or so often as they please. I have been at the charges of the post and chains; nay, I bought the locks and keys, which are the best of that kind that ever came in Liverpool. Vide more of this in my directions at large of all things concerning this street, in the imprimis of More street.

Finis More stret in Liverpooll.

Fenwicke Street¹

IMPRIMIS: Have in mind for ever, that the ground whereon these houses, back sides, and the street itself stand, is solely and wholly upon my own land, and hath so been mine and my ancestors many hundred years. Have in mind that the passage which I now call Fenwicke street is every inch, from the post and chains at the More street end to the post and chains at this street end, that goes into the Water street, solely and wholly my land, and none of the king's high way. But only this year I caused the hedges and walls that formerly fenced it to be pulled down, and to be laid open for the benefit of me and my tenants, and our assigns, but for no others; and as to all other people, it is only a passage of sufferance, and to that intent to let all nations know that it doth not lie common; for although I caused the hedges and walls to be laid down, yet I caused set and erected the great posts, which are all girted and ribbed with iron, together with those great chains thereunto fixed, to be placed at each

¹ Fenwick street, a street of Moore's own making, ran very much on the lines of the present street, though scarcely half its width, and with a much more sinuous course, the chief deflection being opposite the Union Bank Buildings, where the street curved in the direction of the river, to avoid a long strip of land, running down from Castle Street, in the possession of the Crosse family, which they refused to sell to Moore. The only exits from the street (besides the end into Water Street) were Fenwick Alley and Bridges Alley (narrow passages somewhat on the lines of the upper part of Brunswick Street), Moor Street leading down to the river bank, and Castle Hill leading into Castle Street opposite the present Harrington Street. It is not clear whether there was more than a footpath leading along to Preensons Row. Opposite the end of Old Ropery, then actually a ropewalk, was a bridge, built by Moore to carry the street over the ropewalk, the tenant refusing to allow Moore to resume occupation of the upper end of his land for the purposes of making the street. The bridge was soon cleared away, but this part of the street retained for a long time the name of "Dry Bridge."

end of this street, and locks and keys for them, whereby I usually now keep the said passage or street locked up, and none pass there without leave or licence, except my tenants and their assigns. Have in mind that upon all holidays and Sundays, and rain weather, I usually keep them locked, and indeed what other times we please, as usually most people do their house doors, open and shut them when they please. In doing thus you keep the interest of the soil to you and your heirs for ever; so that a hundred years hence doth debar you of no more privilege than one day, but that you may make up the way when you please. God willing, I intend to entail this passage by particular name, and to get all things so plainly inserted in the town's records that there may never be difference between me and the town concerning it, but they may still look upon it as if it were still my inclosed land. Look into my imprimis, the directions of More street, and there you will find at large every thing; and the same I advise you to do with that street, the same I advise you to do with this, in everything in particular according to my directions there. The reasons why I named this street Fenwicke street were four, the first of which is, for that your mother was one of the three coheirs of Sir William Fenwicke, knight and baronet, of Meldon Hall, in Northumberland, by whom I came actually possessed of seven hundred pounds per annum, land of inheritance, for my third part, as I refer you to an exact particular of her estate in this book elsewhere; the second reason, for that by her fortune I disengaged ten thousand pounds principal money of a debt, contracted by my unfortunate father in the service of the parliament, in these late unhappy wars. How he came in-

debted, and what offices he bore, with all other things concerning him, I refer you to another place in this book. The third reason is, for that after all the debts abovesaid were discharged, yet at the restoration of King Charles the Second, my whole estate, that descended as heirs, was by act of parliament confiscated for my father's fault, who was dead near fifteen years before the said act of parliament [was] made. Yet take notice, in the said act of parliament there was no attainder of blood; only a confiscation. And notwithstanding all this, upon the petition¹ of my wife to the Lords' House, the said house ordered four earls to go with it to the king, to acquaint his Majesty that the sense of that house was, the petitioner was a fit object of mercy, in regard her father was an excepted person from pardon by the late usurpers, and had lost for his loyalty to the value of one

¹ Among the Moore papers is a draft petition, apparently the one here referred to, addressed :—

"To the Hon^{ble} the Committee of Parliament to whome the bill of attainting of Oliver Cromwell and others is referred.

"Edward Moore of Bank Hall in the County of Lancaster and Dorothy his wife, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir W^m Phenwick (who was excepted from pardon and his estate sold for his service and Loyaltie to his late Majesty), humbly pray that the estate of the s^d Edward Moore may be excepted out of the intended Act of Attainder, and that they may not bee totally ruined for the horrid crime of John Moore, father of the said Edward.

"1. First, for that the Estate was left soe incumbered by the said John, who died in the year 1649, that it is little worth.

"2. For that the said Dorothy did not att her intermarriage nor untill the blessed restauration of his Majestie heare that the said John Moore had any hand in that horrid murder of his late Majestie.

"3. For that the petitioner Dorothy hathe been and is a Sufferer in a most high manner by reason of the Loyalty of her said father S^r W^m Phenwicke and his exceptiō from pardon and sale of his estate by the powers then in beinge.

"4. That the petitioner Edward was butt 12 years of age and beyond seas when his father John Moore dyed."

It is worth noting that there are two deliberate misstatements in this. Colonel Moore died in 1650, not 1649, and Edward Moore was nearly sixteen at his father's death, not twelve, as he here states.

hundred thousand pounds, a third of which should have been the petitioner's; besides, she herself endured much hardships, by imprisonment and other things, for her loyalty. So the king, referring the petition to his attorney-general to know the truth, finding all things accordingly, was graciously pleased, in consideration of her father's merits and her own sufferings, to grant John More's whole estate to such feoffees¹ in trust as she, Dorothy More, daughter and coheir to Sir William Fenwicke, should name; and accordingly a patent was drawn and passed under the broad seal of England. But take notice, before the patent, there was an inquisition in the behalf of the king, taken and filed in the exchequer.² Thus, under God, you see, she, and her fortune, saved your estate in Lancashire twice. The Lord God grant they may never want one of my name and blood, from her very loins, and in this very poor Bank Hall, to return him thanks in a most particular manner for these two great mercies, and indeed rather miracles. Had you but lived in our days, at that very time, to have seen, at the turning of the tide, what a stream we were to go up, that indeed nothing but God's immediate hand could have procured it finished! See more of this in another place of this book, wherein I have inserted the whole proceedings at large; and likewise see the original patent under the broad seal from the king. The

¹ The Earl of Meath was one of these.

² Among the Moore papers is a draft of this inquisition, which gives a full account of the Moore property. It details lands, tenements, and services in Liverpool ("60 Borgidgs and halfe Burgadges within ye Corporation of Leverpooll with all ye Lands in ye Towne-Fild of Leverpooll," &c., "one wind-Mill and one horse-Mill and one free-fishing in ye River of Marcy," &c.), Bootle, Kirkdale, West Derby, Fazakerley, Linacre, Walton, Litherland, Orrell, Little Crosby, Preston Ellet, Much-Carleton, Horsham and Whitham, Sowerby, Ditton, Chester, and Wallasey.

fourth reason why I named this street so is, that to add to all these mercies, which God was pleased to make her an instrument in, to sweeten them the more to us, he hath been pleased to bless me with four sons and two daughters out of her loins, and is at this time great again with a live child. I hope to sing praises to his name as long as the Sun and Moon endure, because his mercies are great and endure for ever. Amen, amen, amen, Lord Jesu, amen. These reasons considered, I hope, whoever thou art that reads the same, thou wilt not condemn my gratitude, thereby to put my posterity in mind of the praises and thanks they owe to God Almighty, for his providence in the predestinating such an instrument to match into that family which he, by his divine wisdom, foresaw had such inevitable necessity thereof.

He will have mercy on whom he will have mercy; for it is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that shows mercy.—Rom. ix. 16.

Yet the impulsive cause was, nothing out of himself, but in himself, his own good pleasure.—Rom. ix. 18.

Have in mind I was at the sole charges of feying¹ and carrying all the rubbish and earth out of this street; that I had two and three carts a day, and four fillers, lusty men, a day, for seventeen days together, in carrying and sinking the street from Robert Lion's house to Widow Greton's door; for I have taken it near three quarters of a yard deep, or more, all the way, to make the water, God willing, fall that way into the Water street; and if God permit, after Christmas I am to [have] the same fillers, to fall the rest of the street to the bridge, and then from the bridge to the post and

¹ To "fey" is to clear away the top soil.

chains. This will cost a great deal of money. And after all this, then my tenants will by contract be at charges of paving, except in such vacant places where I have not yet set the houses, and there I must be at charges myself of paving. And then, when all is paved, my tenants must continually, before each of their houses, keep it at their own cost and charges so paved, the town having nothing to do with it.

THE VACANT PLACE AT MRS. OWEN'S HOUSE END.¹

Remember that I intend to build a shop here, of some ten feet broad, and the length of Mrs. Owen's gable ends broad; for take notice, although Mr. Knot, her new tenant there, hath lately caused a window to be made in that gable end, yet by her lease I have liberty to build to Mrs. Owen's house end there. Be careful, when you build it, you leave three feet, or a convenient passage, between the shop wall and the post at the street end, that when the chains are locked, a man or a horse may go thereway. If ever Mrs. Owen's house come out of lease, fail not to cause a handsome house built to the end of Robert Prenton's gable end, and so let the house be built in Mrs. Owen's back side, fronting the Fenwicke street, as the wall of her back side now goes. And if the breadth of her back side will not make you, with the overplus of what is left when the house is built, a convenient room for a back side, then may you add a piece of Margaret Downes's, next to it, for to enlarge it. If you do this, it will be a very great ornament to the street. Remember one advantage, that whoever builds this

¹ This is now the corner of Eagle Chambers, and from this point posts and chain ran across the street to the top of Moor Street.

house must lay into Robert Prenton's house end, and pay nothing ; for in consideration that I gave Robert Worrell and Robert Prenton eight pounds towards building their houses, (for they join together,) both of those two Roberts above said were to let whomever I ordered to lay in at either of their gable ends for nothing. Get what rent and hens you can, yet not under one shilling a yard to the front.

REMEMBER that from the post and chains¹ at the south end of Fenwick street, to the bridge that goes over the spinning place, all along the wall belonging to Mr. Will. Bushell's new house, which now Captain Nixon is tenant to, is a large vacant spot of ground² which at present no use is made of, only a way of sufferance I permit Mr. Will. Bushell to have into his spinning place ; for you must take notice he hath no way here, this piece of ground being in lease to Thomas Wayneright for a back side to his house, which was to have been built in the very place which now I call part of Fenwick street, where the post there stands, between Mrs. Owen's house end and Mr. Will Bushell's new house end, which now Captain Nixon and Mrs. Cooke live in. But when it pleased God to put it into my mind of building another street or passage, if it were possible, for the convenience of my tenants to go into the Water street, I came to the abovesaid Thomas Wayneright, and desired him to remove his place of building from that parcel of ground some three or four houses down lower into the More street, which

¹ A marginal note here : "The vacant place from the post to the bridge on the west side of this street."

² This is represented by the land lying between Moor Street east end and the present east end of Old Ropery.

he denied for a time, making his advantage (as he thought) of my necessity, and would not stir unless I would build him two gable ends for nothing, which would cost me at least twelve pounds sterling; and, to make it short, I was forced to do it, by which means I had liberty to lay this place open for a street; since which time Mr. William Bushell never had any lease altered by me, so then no man can think he can have liberty this way by virtue of his old leases. For you may see his way into the spinning place, by virtue of his lease, is to be through an intended cross lane for to be left at the east of Mr. Bushell's ground, measuring thirty-five yards and four inches from the wall at the water side up eastward, lying between Mr. Gallaw's house and his, part of which lane doth go so far as at this time to carry Mr. Gallaw into his own back side, and the remaining part of the lane the said Mr. Bushell hath inclosed to his back side, which, whenever you please, may in despite of his lease be pulled down again, and made a lane of according to agreement and intention. See more of this in Mr. Bushell's house in Castle street, and Mr. Gallaway's house in More street.

When you build, remember the wall which is outwardmost next this street, I was at charges of, and you may raise your house wall up in it, and so build it so far into the street as only to leave a passage of eighteen or nineteen feet; there would be a row of brave shops. Remember, if ever this be done, you fail not to leave a way underneath these buildings for a cart to go under to the cellar door in Fenwick Hall; and if ever you should make a street in the spinning place, this way would be of great advantage. See more of this in the direction of the spinning place, and the

next directions to it, which is Bushell's great house there; vide the cross lane.

THE BRIDGE.¹

I built it all of my own proper cost and charges. The reasons why I was compelled to build such a bridge, where never water runs under, if you would know, read Bushell, William, directions for his house in the Castle street. I have a note under the mason's hand that built it, for to uphold it seven years, and ever after you and your heirs must do it at your own proper cost and charge. But remember, I would have you put a covenant into all your tenants' leases, in that town, to pay proportionable for the continual repair of that bridge, so that will not cost them a penny a year in may be twenty years. Remember Mr. Will. Bushell hath a great desire to build of either side this bridge a handsome house over the spinning place, and to go into them from off either side the bridge, in regard it lies in my power to let him lay into Rob. Worrell's gable end and into Fenwick Hall gable end for nothing. But this remember, that you never let him build there, so as either to take the battlement of the bridge

¹ This bridge, to which Moore alludes so often, was over a gully which ran apparently from what is now Back Castle Street in a westerly direction down the slope of the hill towards the river. It has been filled up, and the lower part of it is now marked by Old Ropery, which runs along the lower portion of it. Coming as it did from Back Castle Street, it bisected Fenwick Street at a right angle, and Moore, as he tells us in the text, was obliged to bridge it over, as Mr. Bushell, the tenant, would not consent to part with any portion of it. The bridge remained for many years, and long after its disappearance that part of Fenwick Street was called Dry Bridge. The existence of a gully in this position is curious, as from the formation of the land it would be unlikely that such a feature would occur naturally so near the crest of the hill; there are some grounds, therefore, for the suggestion, for which I am indebted to Mr. E. W. Cox, that it may have been an outer ditch of the castle, or possibly a sunk sallyport.

for a passage into his houses, or to let him join into either of the aforesaid gable ends, unless he will build there handsome houses, and that of a good height, to the ornament of the street. Remember, there is underneath in the arch an inscription engraven, how and when I built this bridge. Remember this, that what occasion soever Mr. Bushell hath to use you, before you grant it, that in the lease he hath for the spinning place you get inserted that I and my assigns may have liberty to come to Fenwick Hall cellar door, or what other cellars or back building I make in the wall adjoining there to the spinning place, provided we shall not wrong or hinder his spinning.

WORRELL, ROBERT.¹

A pretty house, four stories high ; an honest man. Make this house forty shillings rent, and fifty pounds fine ; that which he now pays is two hens at Christmas. Lives, only himself and twenty-one years ; for in regard he and his partner, Robert Prenton, were two young men unmarried, having neither wives nor children, they would not put strangers' lives in, but rather chose to have only their own lives and twenty-one after, in hopes that if they do marry, you will, instead of the years, put in their wife and child's life. Rent at present, 4s.

PRENTON, ROBERT.²

The like house to Robert Worrell's ; forty shillings rent, and fifty pounds fine ; that which he now pays is two

¹ This house stood close to the bridge, on a portion of the land now occupied by No. 13, Messrs. Geo. Bennett & Sons, wine merchants.

² Among the Moore papers is the following bond, which doubtless refers to this house : " 1668, 21 May. Bond of £100 from Robert Prenton of Leverpole, Freemason, to Edward Moore of Bankhall, Esquire. The condition of this obligation is

hens at Christmas. Lives, only himself and twenty - one years. The old rent, 4s.

THE VACANT PLACE ON THE NORTH SIDE THE BRIDGE.¹

This parcel of ground Mr. William Bushell hath in lease to the house in Castle street; this part, which lies next to Fenwick street, is an excellent place to build on, for there I have an agreement with him who builds at Rog. James's house end, and an agreement with Rob. Worrell, that whoever I please shall lay in at either of their gable ends, and to do so for nothing; so that if Mr. Bushell build here, he may have two gable ends built to his hands for nothing. Remember, here will be a good back side, and room enough to lay to each of my little houses in Bridge's alley a little back side; or if ever you built to the spinning place, there might be a row of little houses built with the fronts into the spinning place, and each of them to have a little back side out of this parcel of ground. Remember, if ever you do thus, that you reserve no more to Bushell's house in the Castle street, for a back side, than to the wall which now parts that back side from this parcel of ground. If Mr. Bushell shall build here, let him promise to build it like the rest of the houses. Vide more concerning this particular in the directions concerning Mr. Bushell's house in Castle street, how he cannot build here if he do not build a handsome house, like the rest of the street, so as to have a way into this street without your leave, nor to join into those two gable ends without your

such that the above-bounden Robert Prenton shall erect and build a seellor and a house of good stone and timber in Fenwike street in Leverpole, and the said house shall be finished within three years next after the date hereof," &c.

¹ This vacant piece of land is represented now by a portion of the premises occupied by the Exchange Club.

leave; therefore either make him build a good house or none. I have no rent for this parcel of ground; it is in Mr. Bushell's lease for the Castle street house. Here may well three hundred pounds be laid out on a house.

BOULTON, ———¹

Miller; is to join next to Rog. James's house end. He is to permit, at the north end of his house, a passage of four feet and four inches, into Bridge's alley, and to have for his back side ——— yards backward the whole breadth of his house, excepting the length of his back side, all along towards the alley, four feet and four inches for the alley. Remember he is to permit me let Mr. Bushell, if I please, to join into his gable end for nothing. He is to build the same height with Roger James's house. When this house comes out of lease, make it thirty shillings rent, and thirty pounds fine. What he now pays is ——— hens at ———. Lives, ——— and old rent, ———.

JAMES, ROGER,²

A very honest man, and a good woman to his wife. A good house and a brave back side. Make this house fifty shillings rent and eighty pounds fine. Remember, when this comes out of lease, you might cause all along in Bridge's alley, little houses of the same bigness built, and let every one of them have two yards for a back side; and when this is done, there will be back side sufficient for this house. He now pays three rent hens, but I have promised that during his wife's life he shall pay but one. The lives in this house are his own,

¹ Now No. 9, Messrs. Layton & Melly's office.

² This house stood on land now partly covered by a portion of the premises of Heywood's branch of the Bank of Liverpool and the roadway of the modern Brunswick Street.

Elinor his wife, and John his eldest son. Remember I built the wall, of my cost, which is next to Bridge's alley, in which wall build the little houses. Rent, 10s.

FENWICK HALL.¹

[Blank.]

THE VACANCIES BETWIXT FENWICKE HALL AND

ED. LITHERLAND'S.²

[Blank.]

LEATHERLAND, EDWARD,³

An honest man. A great house, and good back side. Make this house forty shillings rent, and seventy pounds fine. What he now pays is two rent hens. Lives: his own, Anne his wife, and John his son. Rent at present, 12s.

¹ Fenwick Hall appears to have been a large house with warehouse and cellarge which stood partly on the site now occupied by the Corn Exchange. Among Captain Stewart's papers is a very interesting agreement, dated about the time of the actual penning of this part of the manuscript, viz. 26th November 1668, made between Edward Moore and Alderman Richard Percival. In this Edward Moore undertakes to sign a lease on certain terms of "the newe Fabricke which is all ready begune called ye Phenix Hall nere ye bridge in Fenwick S^t," and Mr. Percival is to "have freely given him so much of the bottom of the sellar as was erected and finished at Mr. Moore's charges long since." On the other hand, Percival undertakes to cause the said "structor or new Fabricke to be finished with good stone worke, and wood worke &c., the same hight, dores flowers slates and other materiall, according to the former bargain of Edward Chisnell Esq.," &c.

The house cannot have been situated right up against the Old Ropery, as provision is made in the agreement for a further house to be built at the south side of the hall.

² In the agreement mentioned above there is a reference to an arrangement made "the other day," by which the vacancy between Fenwick Hall and Edward Litherland's house was to be leased to Mr. Edward Williamson, alderman, for him to build upon.

³ This house must have stood on the land through which the lower part of Brunswick Street was eventually carried.

SUTON, GILBERT,

An honest man. I found him one gable end. Make this house thirty shillings, and thirty pounds fine. What he now pays is two rent hens at Christmas. I did let him have a passage into his back side; vide his lease concerning. Lives: of him the said Gilbert, Cissy his wife, and Margaret, the daughter of Richard Wright of Formby, husbandman. Old rent, now 6s.

BUSHELL, ROBERT,

A slater. He bought the tenancies of this house from Robert Torner. Remember he is to build two bays more in the back side. Make this house one pound rent and thirty pounds fine. He pays now two rent hens. Lives: himself, —. Remember I built both these gable ends; so you may justly ask twelve pounds more for it, for they only now pay rent, 5s.

Mem. these three vacant places are at the end of this house, north, towards John Rimer's.

RIMER, JOHN.¹

A good house. Let the rent be fifty shillings a year, and eighty pounds fine at least. Remember that at the south end of this house is a fair place to build a handsome house in, and then lay a back side to this house out of Jone Hoult's back side; let the breadth of the back side be the exact length of this house and kitchen, but not an inch more; then may you build another house at the north end of this John Rimer's kitchen, to where Robert Lion's stable is, and let the back

¹ This house seems to have been near the Water Street end of Fenwick Street, and to have stood on a portion of the land now occupied by India Buildings.

side thereof be taken out of Jone Hoult's back side; and notwithstanding all this, there will be a good back side to Jone Hoult's, besides. For this, at present, he only pays two rent hens at Christmas. Lives: himself, Jane his wife, and John Rimer his second son. Rent, 4s.

LION, ROBERT,¹

A very honest man. This is divided into two houses; the one Margaret Granger lives in, which I would have you reserve thirty shillings old rent, and sixty pounds fine; the other side Owner Worrell lives in, with the kitchen and stable, is worth one pound a year rent, and fifty pounds fine; pays at present two rent hens. Lives: him the said Robert Lion, Petter Lorting, son of Peter Lorting, alderman, and of James Aseley, son of Thomas Aseley of Parre. Rent, 8s.

Remember you may have of Margaret Granger a year's value for admittance to become tenant, and a year's value for change of every life. Query what all's worth a year, and then whatever you bate her of four years' value, you might as well give it out of your purse. Most landlords in Lancashire take a great deal more. For other things concerning this house in a more particular manner, you may have at large in Rob. Lion's house in the Water street. 8s.

MRS. OWEN'S VACANT PLACE.²

From Robert Lion's well, I would have you pull down that little kitchen which is Margaret Granger's, and there build

¹ See Robert Lion, under Water Street. This holding appears to have been divided into two houses by Fenwick Street, Widow Granger's part standing where the Bank of Liverpool now stands, and Owner Worrell's at the opposite corner.

² This was apparently next to Robert Lion's, on the east side of the street, and is also covered by the new buildings of the Bank of Liverpool.

handsome houses all along from the very well, in Mrs. Owen's back side and garden wall. Let Mrs. Owen's old thatched barn be pulled down; then to each house, give them for back side the breadth so far as Mrs. Owen's liberty on the other side goes. Here will be at least four houses, they will fill up that blank place, and be a very extraordinary ornament to the street. Get what rent and hens you can; two shillings a yard will then be full little enough, because by this time these streets will be all inhabited, and then this will be the very heart of the town.

OWEN, MRS., VACANT PLACE IN HER GARDEN WALL.

This place joins next to Widow Gretton's north gable end; and have in mind I always intended to build here, insomuch as by covenant in Gretton's lease, he is to permit whom I please to join to him for nothing; and likewise the house that joins to him is to have for a back side so far in length as Widow Gretton's back side goes, drawing a line directly from Widow Gretton's corner of her house directly eastward to Edward Jones's back side wall, and then in breadth as the wall of that back side goes, from Jones's to Baly Johnson's, and then to the earl of Derby's land, now in Mr. Baly Livesey's hand; for that wall, which is the partition between the earl's land, is my wall and fence to make. Have in mind that parcel of ground is excepted in Widow Gretton's lease for me to give to whomsoever builds there. I offered to Mrs. Owen, for nothing but for as much of her garden that lies next to Widow Gretton's as William Nickols the cooper would build on, being not above twelve yards of ground, ten pounds sterling, although it was my

own land, and she denied me, which was six times the purchase, and lost me a good tenant; then had I intended to have laid this parcel of ground to it for a back side. Fail not, whenever Mrs. Owen hath any occasion to use you, you get this before you grant her request, and let her know how hard she was with me. What must you expect from such tenants? This is a most excellent place to build in. Have at least three rent hens and £1.

Remember, this long wall I built at my charge; at least four pounds it cost. Vide more about this in Mrs. Owen's in the Water street at large, and observe it well.

GRATON, WIDOW.¹

Since this house was built, her husband died, whose life was in the house, and I freely gave her one of her children's lives in for nothing; she was a poor widow. Have in mind there is a parcel of ground which at present lies common to her back side,² where the nine pins stand, that's particularly excepted out of her lease; for, God willing, I intend to have a house built to join in with her north gable end, which house must stand in Mrs. Owen's garden, and have for its back side this spot of ground, backwards to Edw. Jones's garden wall, and in breadth drawing a line from Widow Gretton's north gable end, so just by her well

¹ This part of Fenwick Street is so changed that it is difficult now to explain where all these houses stood. The street from Water Street to what is now Brunswick Street curved sharply in a westerly direction, the deepest point of this curve being just opposite this Widow Gretton's house. The site of the house is now approximately marked by the doorway of Union Bank Buildings.

² This little piece of land, sacred to the harmless game of nine-pins, lay probably about half-way along what is now Back Castle Street, as one goes from Water Street to Brunswick Street.

directly down to Edward Jones's wall, so as the fence I now make goes; for I make the fence clear round to Mrs. Owen's garden wall again. Read more of this in the last direction for the vacant place in Mrs. Owen's garden, just on the other side of this leaf, and likewise in the direction of Mrs. Owen's house in the Dale street. Remember you have liberty to join to either end of this house for nothing, in regard I gave them a life for nothing. You may ask reason for a rent and fine, yet be moderate, because she is a poor widow. Make the house fifty shillings yearly rent and sixty pounds fine; this is very cheap. I have a covenant on the back side the lease, she shall not wrong her son if she marry again. Two rent hens. Lives: her own, John Gretton, and Thomas Gretton, her sons; and old rent, 10s.

A jury to view James Glover's wrong at the house end.

THE VACANT PLACE AT GRETTON'S SOUTH END.¹

This vacant place is but very narrow, in regard of Mr. Crosse's land in James Glover's tenement. If it had not been for this piece of land, I had made Fenwicke street as straight as any street in town. But this being none of my land, I was forced to wind the street in that place; for before I did it, I sent to Mr. Crosse's agents, and would have given fifty pounds for bare six yards of ground, which was a hundred times the purchase; and they said they would

¹ Moore here explains the reason of the crooked course of Fenwick Street—a crookedness long since smoothed out. It was caused by a narrow strip of land lying east and west, which belonged to Mr. Crosse of Crosse Hall, and which ran out into the land on which Moore wished to make his street. Moore offered to pay a good price for it, he says, but Mr. Crosse's trustees refused to sell at any price, so the street had to curve round to avoid this little strip.

sell none. Then I offered them, that if they pleased but to lay three yards of that out angle to the street, they should have liberty to have made an alley directly down the said James Glover's¹ back side, from the Castle street into Fenwicke street; this would have made Mr. Crosse to have had a whole alley, all upon his own land. All this I would have done to have made the street but straight; yet they were so unreasonable, through some evil counsel against me in the town, who thought my design could never have taken effect without that piece of ground, that their positive answer was, they would spend a thousand pounds before young Mr. Crosse should be wronged, or before I should have a foot there. Thus you may see it's good to make much of your own, and to serve God and be a good husband; for had this piece of ground gone but five yards farther, it would have hindered you to the value of at least five thousand pounds; for then you had neither had this street nor the two alleys, and then More street had been but a back lane, which now, by reason of these passages, is made as convenient as most parts of the town. I do not write this that for the future you may bear ill will to Mr. Crosse,² but that you may know

¹ Moore has here a marginal note: "The Shop in Fenwick Street at James Glover's garden end; vide the directions on the west end of Phoenix Alley, concerning James Glover's at large."

² The Crosses of Crosse Hall in Dale Street, and afterwards of Shawhill, Preston, were a family of almost as much importance as the Moores themselves. Coming originally, it is believed, from Wigan, they had a considerable holding in Liverpool from a very early date. The young Mr. Crosse referred to here was John Crosse, son of Richard Crosse who was buried at Chorley in 1658, leaving his son, a lad of barely ten years. At the time Moore wrote he must have been about nineteen, having been born in 1648. He married Anne Yate, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Yate. Moore calls him "cousin" Crosse, but the relationship was a remote one, Moore's great grand-aunt, Alice Moore, having married John Crosse of Liverpool in 1567.

the reason why the street is too winding, and that you may be more careful of your own land, and esteem a little ; for you see how precious a little land is in a right place, and that it's easier for a man to make away a thousand acres than purchase one, unless he be a good husband ; for I charge you let this danger I escaped, in having five yards of ground to spare at Mr. Crosse's land end, put you in mind of the old saying : He hath and thou hath, but well's them that self hath. Young Mr. Crosse was a child, and so could not be accessory in the least to this : for had any man living been but self concerned, their own interest would have thanked me two times, and have given me a hundred pounds instead of my giving him. But now remember, since it is as it is, that God Almighty hath blessed you with a street all of your own land, let there never be way there, but build me a small single Perpoint ashlar wall, and let come by a line from Widow Gretton's corner of her house, the angle of the wall on the other side Mr. Crosse's land ; for that angle and wall are mine, and so you may build in that wall. Here I would build a shop, and one room over it, and let it join from Gretton's house to them that build next on the south end.

HUNTER, JONATHAN.¹

If he build in this place, between James Glover's and Fenwick alley, which alley is to go out of Fenwick street into the middle of the Castle street, it is to be four yards broad. This is a most convenient place for a house. I am to build Jonathan two gable ends. He sold his house in

¹ This house stood at the corner, on a portion of the land now occupied by the Union Bank.

the Water street, and now builds this. Look at his character in the Water street, and you may have more reason to use him well for building two houses upon your land. He pays now three rent hens at Easter. Lives: himself, Elizabeth his wife, and Joseph his eldest son. Rent, sixpence a yard; query.

Finis Fenwicke Stret in Liverpooll.

Fenwick Alle.¹

HARRISON, WIDOW²

Of William Harrison, glazier. This Widow Harrison was daughter to one Robert Clarcke, who was an old servant of my father's; and when he lay in dying, being desirous to speak with me, he told me he had been a faithful servant to the family, and now when he died, the house fell out of lease, so that his children were in my mercy, and desired me to be good to them; in memory of which I made a lease to her,³ during two lives, for only five pounds fine and the payment of nine pounds which was in arrear of old rent. I gave her seven years time to pay it in besides. At this very time I

¹ Fenwick Alley, now approximately represented by the upper part of Brunswick Street, was one of Moore's creations. Until quite late in the last century, the land between Castle Street and Fenwick Street was crossed by a number of narrow alleys, the chief ones at this time, both apparently favourite spots for building in with Moore, being Fenwick Alley and Bridge's Alley. Fenwick Alley was evidently considered to be an important thoroughfare by Moore, as he made it twelve feet wide!

² This holding included part of the ground on which the Union Bank now stands, and ran up Fenwick Alley as far as Castle Street, and the house seems to have stood on the land now occupied by Messrs. Mawdesley & Son. It was on the north side of the alley.

³ At this point Moore has a marginal note: "All or most part of the north side of Phoenix Alley."

was offered by a Belly Speare¹ in the town a hundred pounds fine in ready money for the premises leased to her, at this time are set for twelve pounds ten shillings yearly. Remember that there is belonging to this messuage a little spot of a garden lying west of an old kiln, and there is likewise this old kiln, together with several little houses worth nothing, lying all along fronting for forty or fifty yards to this alley; upon which ground I would first have you pull down all those little thatched houses, and in their place erect fine neat houses like the houses in Bridge's alley, or, if you can, let them be better. Remember, notwithstanding all my civility of giving this house to her for no fine to speak of, yet when I came to desire but a small part of her back side to make Fenwick street withal, she forced me to allow her at least forty pounds for not so much ground as she did ever set for ten shillings a year, when she had twelve pounds ten shillings a year from me for five pounds fine, for the nine pounds in arrear I could have made the goods in the house to have paid me, so then I had but five pounds fine; notwithstanding this civility, when I had occasion to use her, she was worse than a Turk, for I must either give her two children's lives in, or else I should not have a foot there, upon which I was forced to grant it, which was better to them than fifty pounds. Thus you may see what you must expect from a tenant, use them never so well. Therefore, serve God and make much of your own; and as these new leases fall out, raise your old rents according to my directions, that you may have something to live on like other neighbour gentlemen. This house, bate not a farthing

¹ *A Bailley Spear*—one of the town officials. A Sheriff Spear was a sheriff who had not occupied the office of Mayor, so that a Bailley Spear may have been a bailiff who had never been Mayor.

of a hundred pounds fine, and take those little houses away besides; the rent is sufficient already, you need not raise it. Two hens at Christmas, three days' shearing. Lives, —. Rent, £2.

Vide Harrison, Widow, her house in the Castle street.

Remember if, when my cousin¹ Crosse comes of age, you could buy James Glover's house and back side, you might gallantly build all along this side of the alley,² and lay James Glover's garden for back sides to the same houses; or else you may build pretty little houses as big or bigger than the houses in Bridge's alley, and there will be pretty little back sides to each. And so, if you should buy James Glover's, you might pull down the shop I intend to build at the end thereof, which goes towards Fenwick street, and so you might make a pretty alley all along the said Glover's garden and back sides into the Castle street, and make back sides to the houses on the north side of the said alley out of Widow Gretton's back side and William Mosse's; or if you build large houses, then lay the back sides so far as Edw. Jones's back side. Consider this well, for here you may have several good houses, more especially if you buy James Glover's.

RIDING, WILLIAM.³

This fellow, for his character, vide him in the Castle street; only remember it is but an ordinary house, and you

¹ Moore seems to have called Crosse "cousin" on the strength of his great grand-aunt Alice Moore having married John Crosse of Crosse Hall in 1567 (*vide* Crosse Deeds, No. 224, edited by R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A.).

² Moore has here a marginal note: "From the west end of Harrison, widow, to Fenwick street, all along the north side of this alley."

³ As stated under Castle Street, Riding's house stood on ground now occupied by part of Leyland & Bullins' Bank.

may, if you please, cause a house to be erected in his back side, the same height and breadth of Andell's, fronting to this alley; only remember you be careful not to stop the lights to the horse mill. Rent, —.

ANSDELL, —.¹

This fellow gave me but nine pounds for his whole house, when it cost me forty pounds. Therefore, whenever it comes out, you may use your pleasure for to have the most you can get for it. Make the rent one pound per annum, and fine forty pounds. Remember he doth not with his back buildings stop any of the lights belonging to the horse mill. In his lease there is a proviso concerning it. Hens, —.

This house I built myself.

HOLLISE, THOMAS.

[Blank.]

BUSHELL, WILLIAM, SLATER.

[Blank.]

JAMES, ROGER.²

He hath a long blind wall, in which, if you see convenient, you may cause a very good house or two built. The front to this alley, and the back side is so broad that there will be room sufficient for back sides to them. And let the back

¹ Ansdell's house stood near Riding's, lower down Fenwick Alley.

² This Roger James was a man who prospered with the town, and subsequently built premises in Moor Street, and then in a new street backing to Moor Street, and which was eventually called after his name, and James Street is with us to this day, though very different from the day when Roger James knew it.

side for his house in Fenwick street go only so far as to the end of his stable, and so make a door out of his stable into this alley ; and then you may build so far westward from William Bushell's, the slater, as to the west side of the great gates which now lead into Roger James's back side. See more in Roger James's house in Fenwick street.

MEMORANDUMS CONCERNING FENWICK ALLEY.

Remember that all this ground, being four yards or thereabouts broad from Fenwick street to the draw well, which I have left for this passage, and so from thence to the post and chains at the east end of this alley, which I now call Fenwick alley, is every foot and inch my own land, and none of the king's high-way ; for it being entailed land to me and my heirs for ever, and only a passage intended for me and my tenants, and to debar all other people from going through that way, except it be by permission and sufferance first had and obtained from me, the said Ed. Moore, or some of my tenants ; and to that end, to keep my interest, I caused the posts and chains set, which are sometimes for a week together kept locked, and opened by none but by the tenants there, or such as they give leave to. The same is this passage exactly as that of the More street ; therefore vide More street directions. Remember that it is at my sole charge to carry the earth all away, so as it may be made fit to pave ; and then it is to be paved and so continued in repair at the proper cost and charges of me, the said Ed. Moore, and my tenants, for ever. God grant there may never be one of my name and blood wanting to give God thanks for this his mercy. Amen, amen, amen.

THE DRAW WELL THERE.¹

Remember this well was called formerly Rob. Clarke's well, and was an ancient well belonging to Clarke's tenement. But upon my laying this place open, it fell out so that the passage or alley chanced to be most convenient near the said well, whereupon I have made it a common well to certain of the new tenants, which was a great encouragement to them, nothing being more necessary than good water for the daily use of a house; and they, and none but such as they shall permit, are to have a key to the door which enters to the well. And at such tenants' cost and charges the well, with all necessities whatsoever, is to be kept in good order and repair. Here is a good wall and a door built round this well, to keep it several from the street. Have in mind the same was built solely at the proper charges of me, Edw. Moore, and not so much as any one of my tenants did contribute one penny towards it in the least.

Finis Fenwick Alle in Liverpolle.

Bridge's Alley.²

This passage, or alley, is every inch, together with all the houses there, my land of inheritance, and not the king's highway, but only peculiar to me, Edw. Moore, my tenants, and their assigns; and for that end I caused the post and chains,

¹ This ancient well seems to have been about the site now occupied by Leyland & Bullins' Bank. For notes on the water supply of Liverpool at this time see p. 124.

² Another of Moore's favourite building schemes. This alley ran from Castle Street into Fenwick Street. It led through ground now covered by the Lancashire and Yorkshire Bank, and running parallel with the modern Brunswick Street, it passed

at the east end thereof, to be set at my sole proper cost and charges, and the doors at either end to be made for to be kept locked when the tenants or myself or heirs please. Remember, the same I say for this passage as I do for More street, (vide the same,) and all at my costs. I am to fey¹ the street, and carry away the earth, and then my tenants are to pave it and keep it so, according to my covenants in their leases. Remember the reason why I named it Bridge's alley was because it lay betwixt two bridges, the one at the west end, where never water runs under, made to spin under, (vide Will. Bushell, Castle street,) the other at the east end is Thomas Bridge, my tenant, a drunken fellow; upon which these verses were made as follows:—

In old, bridges for water were,
But these are made for other fare;
The one for spinning, and, it's said,
The other's for the drunken trade.
Let this be set to England's wonder:
Two bridges, and no water under!

Remember, if ever you could get the garden which belongs to Mr. William Bushell's house in Castle street, you might either build an excellent row of houses fronting to the spinning place, (vide the Spinning Place, and Bridge's, or see Bushell, Will., vacant place, all these I would have you see in the directions of Fenwick street,) or else lay to each of these little houses every one two or three yards more for a

through the premises of Heywood's branch of the Bank of Liverpool, and debouched on Fenwick Street close to the doorway of No. 9 (Messrs. Layton & Melly's office).

It is worth noting that the lease printed in the Appendix is for a new house in Bridge's Alley.

¹ *Fey*—to clear off or remove the upper soil.

back side, and make a good house at the upper end fronting to the Fenwick street, and keep a reasonable back side for it ; this will serve all three places, and back sides to them all.

THOMAS BRIDGE'S DEAD WALL.

Remember, if ever this house of Thomas Bridge's fall out of lease, that here belongs to it a garden, which, by any means, I would have you take from this house, and let such little houses as these in the ally are, be built all along in it, fronting the said alley, and the garden will be broad enough for the houses and to make back sides to them and all ; if you continue for the back side to this house so far as the draw well and cross wall that parts the garden from the said back sides, it is sufficient, but query if that be not too much.

JAMES, ROGER.

Remember here is a vacant place all along the wall which belongs to his back side, wherein would most excellently serve for to build such like houses as [in] this alley are, and lay two or three yards of ground to each of them, and, notwithstanding, let there remain a sufficient back side still to Roger James's house ; when this falls out of lease, or as opportunity serves, remember this. For rent and hens get what you can.

Finis Bridge's Alley in Liverpooll.

AN EXACT [ACCOUNT] OF
THE SEVERAL PARCELS OF LAND I HAVE
IN LIVERPOOL

Imprimis:—WATTER-YARTH, GREAT,¹

A very good meadow. It is thirty acres of the largest measure, worth yearly thirty pounds per annum at least. Many of the acres are now set for forty shillings the acre; and if you will but dung it, which you may very well do, in regard it lies so near the town, or set it to several tenants in small parcels, from three years to three years at a rack rent, (they will be obliged to dung it,) then it will in twice dunging be worth at least forty pounds per annum.

WATTER-YEARTH, LITTLE,

Six acres, set to pasture for eight pounds per annum, together with the Hogs heys commons with them.

Wood.

This close, one part of it lies in Liverpool and the other within the lordship of Kerdell [Kirkdale]. Take notice, this close, which is not, in all, with the wood and meadow betwixt the two woods, not above eight acres, is worth to you and yours more than so many acres of wheat yearly;

¹ There was a parcel of land belonging to the Moores, to which frequent reference is made in early charters, variously called the Wayte-Yerth, the Wet-Earth, the Waite-Yarth. It is probable that this is the same piece of land. It seems to have been close to the Kirkdale boundary of the township, between what is now Boundary Street and Lightbody Street.

for there was John Sire and Thomas Wharton, both ancient servants, at least eighty years apiece, could remember that my great grandfather, William Moore, planted this wood, being forced most of his time to keep two strong ox teams, with two men and two boys, for to do no other work but fetch hedging wood from Simmon-wood¹ to fence his demesne. This great trouble lasted most part of the winter season. This being nothing but truth, you have great cause to be careful that none abuse it. Remember you always give a charge to one of your servants to look to it, otherwise the town of Liverpool will absolutely destroy it with stealing pricks or windings out of it. Take notice, there will be many at you to beg a hundred of windings which, they pretend, is but a small thing; yet, that hundred of windings, when it is grown up, will be a good part of a load of wood. Therefore make a resolution, for love nor gold will you give any; for if once you admit to one, you will never be quiet till the whole wood be destroyed. Promise to the man that looks to it five shillings or ten shillings for every one he takes stealing; and then, before you forgive them, make them pay it to your servant, or else tell them you must pay it yourself. Remember, you must never in all your life permit any beast to go a grazing therein, for they will eat all the young springing wood, and so destroy it; then be careful that it be always cut in the right season, whilst the sap is in the root. These rules exactly observed, with God's blessing, will preserve your wood for ever, so that you may for ever cut a hundred load a year, or more, as your occasion requires, and be served for your demesne as well as any man in England is with hedging

¹ Simonswood, near Melling.

wood; which, if you destroy the same, gold will scarce buy you wood for your sufficient use, in regard of the great scarcity of wood about you. I hope fore-warned, fore-armed, if you have either grace or wisdom in you. There will be in the meadow betwixt the woods some years twelve loads of hay. I cannot set a value upon this same close for the reasons above said.

POTINGER HEY,¹

Worth six pounds per annum to graze: it is near five acres.

NEW HEY

Will score eleven cows at twenty-six shillings a cow-gate, that is fourteen pounds six shillings per annum for the short cow score, that is for twenty weeks; and then you may make a good sum of money for the after score, betwixt that and Candlemas.

Here is a pit in this close most excellent for breeding tenches in. You may never have under a thousand pair of young tenches therein to fray all your other ponds.

HOGS HEY COMMONS, *alias* TOWN'S COMMONS.

Some say that I hold them but in lease from the town of Liverpool, for which I pay three shillings and four pence a year during my uncle Robert Moore's life. How it

¹ Potinger Hey, from references to it in the Moore papers, appears to have been close to the boundary of Kirkdale and Liverpool, not far from Moore's Wood.

is I know not. I forbear speaking of it, thinking it may not be convenient till, please God, I be mayor, and then I can see into the records in despite of them; for never was a crew of such false-hearted rogues in one town together. I charge you trust none of them, for they would betray Christ if on the earth again. This observe, when they pretend most friendship, then have they most roguery in their hearts: this I only speak, what by experience I have found, of the aldermen now in being. God send us better, for his own honour and the town's good. Amen.

DEMAINE LANDS IN LIVERPOOL

PARLOR HEY,

The best piece of ground within one hundred miles ; it is not above three acres,¹ and it will keep now eight beasts at forty shillings a cow-gate ; and formerly, before it was delved most part of it over to make up the works when the town was a garrison, it would have kept two beasts more ; that was in all ten beasts, for twenty weeks, at forty shillings a cow-gate, or thirty-five shillings at the lowest rate. This field is convenient to build a street or more in. God direct you concerning it. Amen.

KILN HEY,

Worth four pounds per annum ; a brave place for building. Vide more concerning it. In this field you have a good kiln standing all in good repair.

BARN HEY,

Set by me fourteen years ago for eight pounds per annum ; but I hope now, as the town grows populous, will be much more worth. Here you may make brave buildings ; consider of it.

PIT HEY.

This is worth five pounds per annum ; and you may have two or three good houses built at the end next the

¹ Parlour Hey, as stated in Note 2, p. 9, was the field in which the Old Hall stood, and its site is now bounded, roughly speaking, by Old Hall Street, Brook Street, Lancelot's Hey, and Union Street. It is interesting to note that the area of this piece of land as shown in the plan is just short of three Cheshire acres.

Tithebarn street, and have a brave spinning place as it now is behind it; which very spinning place, if you could oblige any rich man to cover it all over, as Owner Bushell intends his, would be worth at least twenty pounds or more a year.

MILL CROFT¹

Is a field I keep on purpose for my mill horses, for to pasture them in at noons in the summer time: a rich piece of ground of the bigness.

CAUSE ACRE, OR HEY AND LITTLE MEADOW.²

Set for four pounds ten shillings per annum.

Here followeth an exact [account] of all my Lands in the town field of Liverpool, and in what tenants' hands they be at present in possession of; the names of what part of the field they lie in, and whose men's lands lie off each side of them; much to your advantage to know if possible to exchange as many of them as you can into close.

IMPRIMIS: in the Lower Hevilands³——.

Lower Hevilands ——.

¹ See under Tithebarn Street, p. 35.

² See under Castle Street, p. 69, Note 2.

³ The Lower Hevilands was one of the Common Fields, and stretched along the west side of what is now Vauxhall Road, between, roughly speaking, Charters Street and Lightbody Street. See Note 1, p. 96.

APPENDIX

HEARTH TAX, 1663¹

Hundred of Derby

LIVERPOOLE

WATER STREET					
Katherin Williams	.	.	iiij	Marg ^t fformeby	5
Rich: Percevell	.	.	vj	Tho. Ros	3
M ^r Robt Moore, gent.	.	.	iiij	Ellin Eccleston	6
Wilt Gratton	.	.	2	Hen. Crane	2
Sarah Walker	.	.	3	Jane Jarratt ²	2
Margery Heald wid	.	.	2	M ^r Hen: Corles	3
Jo. Lunt	.	.	2	Jo. Walls	2
M ^{rs} Alice Chadderton	.	.	2	Geo. Bennitt	1
Wilt Nichols	.	.	2	Jane Hancoke vid	2
Jo. Chandler Aldarman	.	.	iiij	Robt Suttone	3
Marg ^t Grangur wid	.	.	1	Ralph Halle	1
Marg ^t Williamson wid	.	.	4	Tho. Story	4
Wilt Middleton	.	.	1	Ja: Hoult	3
Edm: Luesey	.	.	iii	Tho: Scarsbricke	2
Joane Pottar	.	.	3	Jo. Chambares	1
Silvestar Richmond	.	.	3	Gilbt fformeby	3
Robt Lyon	.	.	2	Tho: Kenion	2
Edw: Litharland	.	.	1	Wilt Travis	2
Jo. Owen	.	.	4	Rich: Crompton	2
Tho. Nicholson	.	.	1	Ja. Browne	6
Ann Hudson	.	.	1	Jo: Sturaker	6
Alice Jones	.	.	3	Pheba Byard	4
Tho. Johnson	.	.	3	Widdow Woods	1
				Rich Dobbe	1

¹ Lay subsidy 24th, 15 Chas II., Lancashire.

² In another roll this name is given Jeane Jarrett at Hesken.

Arthur Hutton	3	Michall Burg ^r	1
Alex ^r Greene	9	Wilt Bayley	1
Ja. Carter	4	Wilt Jumpe	2
Custome house	1	Tho. Lanclett	2
	<hr/>	M ^{rs} Horton	4
	144		<hr/>
CHAPALL STREETT			83
Edw. Tarleton	2	JUGLERS STREETE	
Charles ffairehurst	2	Widdow Dwarihouse	1
Widdow Whiteleie	2	Widdow Mosse	1
Wilt Rimmor	2	Marg ^t Harvey	2
Rich fformbye	1	Rich Blevine	2
Hen. Tarbocke	1	Jo: Starkie	3
Tho. Linaker	1	Tho. Holland barb ^r	2
Tho. Andoe	2	Edw. Sutton	2
Ellin Dowson	2	Wilt Newport	1
M ^r Lees, Clarke	6	Widdow Bixter ¹	4
Widdow Tarleton	4	Rich Holland	4
Margery Tarelton	1	Edw. Carr	2
Jo. Rimmor	1	Jo. Darbye	2
Hen. Knowles	2	W ^m Williamson	2
Wilt Leech	1	Ralph Masson	4
Evan Marsh	4	Jo. Blundell	1
Olliver Lyne	2	Jo. Walk ^r	2
Joseph Wilson	4	Jo. Erbie	1
M ^r Tho. Williamson	3	Wilt Simson	1
Timothy Tarleton	3	Wilt Monleye	1
Jo: Monley	2	Jo. Kenion	1
Wilt Gardnar	4	Nich: Coop	1
Jo. Griffith	1	Jo. ffrancis	4
Brian Mercer	2	Robt Woodside	3
Rich Rimmor	2	M ^{rs} Sandiford vid	5
Wilt Brunton	2		<hr/>
Rog ^r James	3		52
Jo. Sowth	2		
Symon Arowsmith	2	OULD HALL STREETE	
Ald: Tho. Andoe	5	Jo. Tomson Sen.	1
Anthony Carr	1	Jo. Tomson Jun.	1
Jo. Rimmor	1	Jo. Sanderson	1

¹ In another copy this entry is Margaret Bicksteth.

Jo. Bixter	1	Jo. Roson	1
Rich Rogarson	1	Tho. Simson	1
Tho: Alcocke	2	Tho. Litharland	1
Abrahā Sanderson	1	Law. Jumpe	1
M ^r Hen. Bradshawe	4	Ellis Loye	1
Jo. Tempeste	3	Robt Johnson	1
Robt Seacome	1	Law. Williamson	2
Jo. Holland	1	Wilt Wattmough	2
Jo. Alcocke	2	M ^r Wilt Strangwayes	3
Robt England	1	Jo. Monley	1
Elnor Wetherbee	1	Edw. Alcocke	2
Tho: Smalshow	1	Robt Mercer	1
Jo. Rimmer	1	M ^r Edw. Alcocke	4
M ^{rs} Ridde ¹ vid	1	Wid. Plompe	1
<hr/>		Nich Galkerowe	1
24		Rich Davidson	1
TITHBARNE STRETT		Wilt Blundell	1
Hen. Charnocke	1	Hugh Reynoldes	1
Ellin Hollecid	2	Tho. Prison	2
Robt Eccles	1	Hen. Bushell	3
Joseph Keele	2	Cutbeard Cilshewe	1
M ^r Glovar	2	Eliz. Mercer vid	1
Edw: Horrobin	1	Tho. Bridge	2
Robt Bore	1	Robt Kenion	1
Wilt Bushall	1	Wilt Rydinge	1
Wilt Goare	1	Wilt Harrison	1
Edw. Marsh	1	Edw. Scarsbricke	1
Tho. Coppall	2	Tho. Bankes	1
Tho. Carr	4	Jo. Holmes	1
Tho. Loye	1	Petar Martin	1
Tho. Holland	1	Jam. Glover	1
Elizabeth Berche	1	Wilt Daintye Juf	1
<hr/>		Hen. Hardman	1
22		Wilt Mosse	3
CASTLE STREETE		Jo. Williamson	3
Mary Sandiford	3	Rich Jones	2
Widdow Johnson ²	3	Tho. Gallowaye	3
		Rich Williamson	—

¹ In another copy Mary Kidd.² In another roll Dorothy Johnson.

Sam ^d Postlethwait	1	Anne Gardnar	2
Patricke Recowides	1	Samuell Hazakerley	5
Ja. Hayes	2	Jo. Poultney	3
	68	Will. Hoomes	1
DALE STREETS		Jo. Harris	2
Edw. Williamson	3	Jonathan Gleave	1
Jo. Pembarton	3	Robt Simson	2
Rich. Browne	2	Widdow Hardman	1
Wilt Eccleston	5	Edw. Bankes	1
Wilt Bushell	5	Tho. Tatlocke	2
Margery Horrokes	2	Robt fleetwood	2
Jane Martin	1	frances Hunter	1
Law[?] Breeres	2	Robt Burt	1
Law. Breeres	3	Will. Milles	1
Wilt Ollives	1	Tho. Coventree	1
Anthony Meeres	1	Robt. Leadbetter	1
Widdow Winstonley	5	Wilt Ramford [? Rainford]	3
Wilt Parker	3	Rog ^r Harrison	3
Hen. Rydinge	4	Tho. Blundell	1
Wilt Litherland	3	Widdow Harwood	1
Peter Lurthinge Ad	4	Jo. Leetharland	1
Jo [?] Lurthinge	1	Jo. Poole	1
Tho. Chapman	1	Peter Walker	1
Wilt Halsoe	1	Will. Williamson	1
Gregory formebie	1	Jane Burtan wid.	3
Anthony Wales	1	Ja. Blevine	2
Robt Hall	2	Tho. Patricke	4
Tho. Ashbrooke	4	Tho. Waynwright	3
Rog ^r Bushell	1	Widdow Hackines	1
Dorety Bixter, wid	1	Rich Bushell	2
Marg ^d Banister	2	[Anne Lurting widow]	3
Evan Garrett	1	Widdow Lurtinge	2
Nathan Gleave	2	Jo. Williamson	3
Tho. Hords	1	M ^r Blackmore	3
Jo. Heyes	1	Jo. Higinson	5
Edw. Buckleye	2	Will. Ackeres	5
Jo. Winstanley	3		

ORIGINAL LEASE FROM EDWARD MOORE FOR A
HOUSE IN BRIDGE'S ALLEY

THIS Indenture made the five & twentyeth daie of November in the three & twentyeth yeare of the Raigne of our gracious Sovereigne Lord Charles the Second [1671] by y^e grace of God of England Scotland France & Ireland King defendor of y^e faith etc Between the worth Edward Moore of Bank hall in the County of Lancaster Esq^r of the one pte and Nicholas Rochdell of Walton in the said County husbandman of the other part *Witnesseth* that the said Edward Moore for and in consideration that the saide Nicholas Rochdell hath erected and builded one good house of stone & timber, slated, doores, floores, & other materialls in Bridge Alley in Liverpoole aforesaid next adioyninge & being on the East side of the house now in the occupa^{on} of Iohn Whitley or his assignee or assignes, And for divers other good causes & considera^{ons} him the said Edward Moore thereunto Moveing *That* demised graunted set & to farme letten and by theis p^{sents} doth demise graunte sett & to farme lett unto the said Nicholas Rochdell and his assignes All that parcel of ground where the said house is now builded on, being four yards & a half of ground (be it more or lesse) & the same breadth backwards to William Bushells garden wall, with all waies waters, watercourses, lights entryes easments p^{fits} privileges and advantages whatsoever thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining *To have and to hold* the said parcel of ground house and premises aforesaid with their appurtenances unto the said Nicholas Rochdell and to his assignes for and during the natural life of his sonne Henry Rochdell, and from and after the naturall death of the said Henry Rochdell *To have and to hold* the said house and demised premises to the said Nicholas Rochdell & his assigns for and during the term of one and twenty years from thenceforth next & immediately following and fully to bee complete determined and ended yielding and paying therefor yearly during the said term and


terms at and in the compass window of the Hall within the capital Messuage called Bank hall aforesaid, unto the said Edward Moore his heirs & his assignes the yearly rent of two shillings of lawfull English money at the feasts of our Blessed Lady St Mary the virgine & St Michaell y^e Archangell by even and equall porcōns & one rent henne at y^e feast of St Thomas the Apostle yearly of the valew of nyne pence at the least, ~~Prohibited~~ always and upon Condiçōn, And the said Nicholas Rochdell for himself & his assignes doth Covefinte promise & grant to & with y^e said Edward Moore his heires & assignes & every of them by theis presents that when & so often as he the said Nicholas Rochdale & his assignes shall have occaçōn of grinding anie manner of Corne Mault or other graine, during the terme or termes aforesaid that then & soe often as they or any of them shall grinde the same at some of the milne or milnes of the said Edward Moore his heirs or assignes & not elsewhere and if hee they or anie of them shall make default therein, then to forfeit and paye for every Winchester measure or bushell soe grinded away to the said Edward Moore his heirs or assignes one shilling of lawfull money of England (*toties quoties n'oi'e poenae*). And the said Nicholas Rochdell for himself & his assignes doth covenant promise & grant to & with the said Edward Moore his heirs & assignes by theis presents That he the said Nicholas Rochdell & his assignes shall & will from time to time & all times hereafter during the said terme and terms at his & their own proper cost & Charges repair maintaine & uphold the said house and demised premises erected or to bee erected thereupon: And during the said term keep scour pave & sufficiently maintaine all mounds fences & channels to the said demised premises belonging and so in good and tenantable reparaçōn at the end of the said terme shall [quitt] & yeild up the same to the said Edward Moore his heires and assignes And shall neither assign sett lett, alien nor regrant the premises nor any parte thereof to any manner of person or persons whatsoever during the said terme without the Consent of the said Edward Moore his heires or assignes under his or their hands & scales first had & obtained ~~Prohibited~~ always that if it shall happen the above mençōned yearly rent of two shillings (or any part or parcel) of the forsaid [rent of] the said Millnes as aforesaid to be (behind) in part or in all at any of the feast days & times above-

said at which the same aught by this present Indenture to be [paid, that] then & in such case, it shall & may [be lawfull] to & for the said Edward Moore his heires & assignes into the said house & premises or any parte thereof to enter and thereof & therein to distrain and the distresse or distresses there found & had to take lead drive & carry away & with him or them to be deteyned & kept till upon the view of two sufficient men the said distresses in what kind or nature so ever be valued and appraised immediately after which it shall or may be lawfull by these presents to and for the said Edward Moore his heirs and assignes to expose to sale or Sell all or any parte of the goods so distreyned and appraised as aforesaid and what money is thereupon received to be kept & disposed for & towards satisfacōn of all rents arrearages of rents rent hennes with all other arrearages boons penalties & *nomine poenae* for forfeitures of anything foreprised and excepted by theis presents, And then if any overplus of such distresses remain in the hands of the said Edward Moore his heirs or Assignes Then the same to be returned to the said Nicholas Rochdell & his assignes but if no sufficient distresse or distresses as abovesaid can or may be found or had in or upon the demised premises or any part thereof whereupon to distreyne, That then & in such Case it shall & may be lawfull to y^e said Edward Moore his heires and assignes into the said house or any part or parcel thereof & therein to bee & stand repossessed as in his or their former estate any thing in theis presents menconed to the contrary notwithstanding And the said Nicholas Rochdell for himself & his assignes doth covenant promise & Grant by theis presents to & with the said Edward Moore his heires & assignes that in case they or either or any of them shall Comitt any acte or acts thing or things whereby their estate or estates shall be forfeited to the king or to any other person or persons whatsoever then this present Indenture to be voyd to all intents and purposes whatsoever notwithstanding anything in theis presents to the contrary And the said Edward Moore doth for himself his heires & assignes covenant promise & grant to & with ye said Nicholas Rochdell & his assignes & to & with every of them in manner and form following (viz) That he the said Nicholas Rochdell & his assignes & every of them under & upon the rents reservacōns Covenants Condiçōns pay-

ments provisoes, & agreements before menconed in this present indenture shall & may peaceably & quietly have hold & enjoy during the said terme & termes of life & years aforesaid all & singlar the before demised premises without the molestacōn or evicōn of the said Edward Moore his heires or assignes & all other person or persons claiming the same or any part or parcell thereof from or under them or any of them and lastly the said Edward Moore for the better confirming of theis presents hath constituted ordained and authorised & by theis presents doth constitute ordaine & authorise his welbeloved friends William Strangwaies of Liverpool aforesaid gentleman & Thomas Chapman of Liverpool aforesaid scrivner his true & lawful Attorneys joyntly & severally for him the said Edward Moore & in his name stead & Place to enter into the aforesaid demised premises or any parte thereof & therein to take quiet & peaceable possession & seisine & that so done by them or either of them then they or the one of them to deliver quiett possession & seisine thereof & therein to the said Nicholas Rochdell To have & to hold to him & his Assignes according to the tenor purport true intent & meaning of theis presents In witness whereof the parties abovesaid have to theis presents interchangeably sett their hands and seals the day & year first above written.

Annoque Domini 1671.

The  mark of
NICHOLAS ROCHDALL.

Scaled signed & delivered
in the presence of
The  mark of
John Grace.
Tho. Chapman [sgd.].

Liverpool.


A Counter pane from Nicholas Rochdell & bond for performances
Dat: 15 Nov. 1671. 1 life & 21 years after. 2/8 La-day 29 7^{br}. 1 rent
hen 9^d. Grinde.

[Partly eaten away,
seal gone.]

BOND £20 from NICHOLAS ROCHDELL of Walton
husbandman

to

EDWARD MOORE of Bank hall Armiger.

The  mark of
John Grace.
Thos Chapman [sgd.].

CONDITION.

To Observe & fulfill the covenants in Indentures bearing even date
with this made between Edward Moore Esq and

NICHOLAS ROCHDELL.

[Paper seal.]

EXCHANGE OF LAND IN OLDHALL STREET IN 1516¹

THIS Indenture made the xvijth day of Marche in the vijth yere of the Regn of Kyng Henry the vijth [1516] betwix Witm More Squier opon y^e on party and Davyd Gryffith Maire of the towne of Lyuerpole, his brothies coburges and the Coṃynaltie of the same town upon y^e other party. Witnessez that y^e said Witm hath graunted to the seid Maire the burges & Coṃynaltie of the seid town for euermore a Comyn Way for the ease of the burges & Coṃynaltie aforeseid to go w^t their cariages or othirwyse as shall please theym as often as it shalbe necessary or nedefull for any burges or Coṃynaltie to pass into the fild of Lyuerpole which way liez straight up the Milne Strete so North into the fields before seid now diked and meired by the said Witm opon his owen grounde, and lieng betix ij cloicez of the seid Witm lately by hym cloiced Also ye seid Witm grauntes y^t he & his heirez shall kepe a sufficient yate opon his Costes and his heirez to staund in & opon the seid way by hym graunted in the defence of the seid fild And also shall at all tyme necessary & requisite clance his dichez & kepe a Synk open out of the Herre Hey diche to haf concourse of water into the Lagher Hey Diche for the whiche graunte made by the seid Witm the seide Maire burges and Coṃynaltie of the seid towne of Lyuerpole haf graunted in exchange to ye seid Witm More y^t he and his heirez for euer shall haf & occupie in seueraltie a Lane belongeng to theym in the seid town cald the Milne Hill Lane lyeing in length from the Milne Strete before seid so extending as it is now diked and encloiced in length aftyr the Herre Cloice of the seid Witm Provided always y^t if the seid Witm More or his heirez or the Maire for y^e tyme being w^t the burges and Coṃynaltie of the seid town of Lyuerpole be not content with the graunts of either partie that then ayther partie shelbe at lybertie to make these covenents & ayther party to retake their awen launds to within a twelvemonth warnyng these Indentures not withstanding. In witnesse of y^e which thyng to these Indentures ayther partie anends other interchangeably haff set their Sealez. Yeuen the day and yere before seid.

[Seal broken.]

¹ From the Corporation Muniments.

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